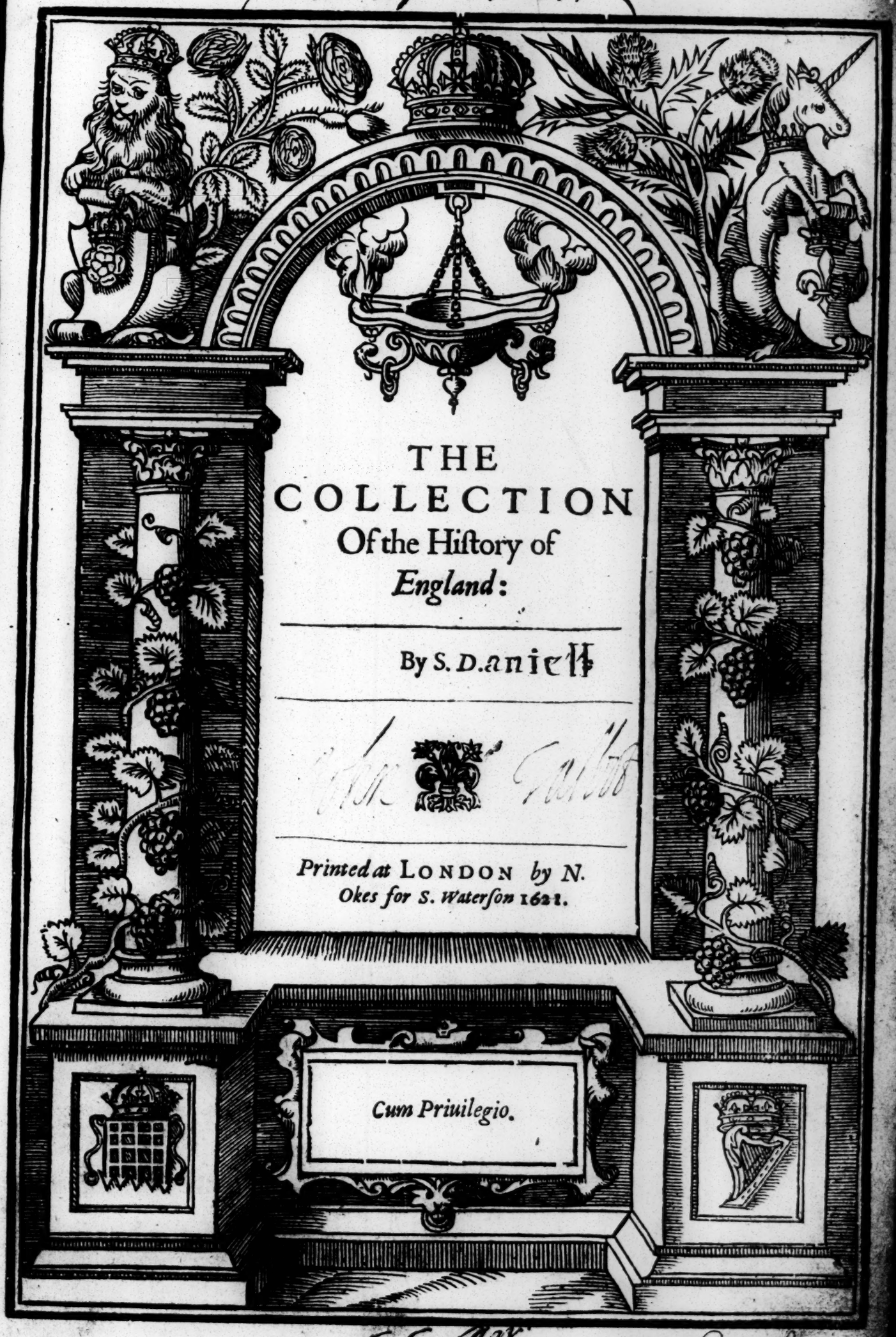


THE COLLECTION Of the Hiſtory of *England*:

By S. D.aniell

Printed at LONDON *by* N. *Okes for* S. *Waterſon* 1621.

Cum Priuilegio.

TO THE MAIESTY OF ANNE OF DENMARKE, QVEENE OF ENGland, Scotland, France and Ireland.

QVeenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the bleſsing of ſucceſſion that preſerues the Kingdome, hauing their parts running in the times wherein they liue, are likewiſe intereſſed in the Hiſtories thereof, which containe their memories and all that is left of them, when they haue left to be in this world. And therefore to you, great Queene of *England* (and the greater by your loue to the nation, and the bleſſing you haue brought forth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humbleſt ſeruant addreſſe this peece of our Hiſtory; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Maieſtie, being for the moſt part done vnder your Roofe, during my attendance vpon your ſacred perſon: and if euer it ſhall come to bee an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it muſt remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as brought forth vnder the ſplendor of your goodnes. Howſoeuer, this which is done ſhall yet ſhew how deſirous I haue beene to lay out my time and induſtry, as farre as my ability would extend, to doe

your Maieſtie, and my Country ſeruice in this kinde.

And though at high Altars, none but high Prieſts ought to ſacrifize, yet vouchſafe mightie Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Maieſties

Humbleſt ſeruant,

Samuel Daniel.

Certaine

Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader.

THis Peece of our History, which here I diuulge not, but impart priuately to such Worthy persons as haue fauoured my indeauors herein, should long since haue beene much more: and come abroad with Dedication, Preface, and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes beene answerable to my desire: But being otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payd by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeeld as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the worke of one man (were hee of neuer so strong forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of England. For, although the inquisition of Ancient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I finde most Laborious: and I know, quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, especially in this kinde, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care herein. I had rather be Master of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of vaste roomes ill proportioned, and vnfurnished: and I know many others are of my minde.

Now for what I haue done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare auow, is more together of the maine, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece) I am to render an account whence I had my furniture: which if I haue omitted to charge my Margin withall, I would haue the Reader to know, that in the Liues of William the First, William the Second, Henry the First, and

Stephen; *I haue especially followed* William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houueden, Huntingdon, *with all such Collections, as haue beene made out of others for those times. In the Liues of* Henry *the Second,* Richard *the First,* Iohn, *and* Henry *the Third*: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, *and others. In the Liues of* Edward *the First,* Edward *the Second, and Third*: Froissart *and* Walsingham, *with such collections as by* Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holingshead, Stow *and* Speed, *diligent and famous Trauailors in the search of our History, haue beene made and diuulged to the world. For forrayne businesses (especially with* France, *where we had most to doe) I haue for Authors,* Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, *and others, without whom we cannot truely vnderstand our owne affaires. And where otherwise I haue had any supplyes extraordinary, either out of Record, or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I haue giuen a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shal haue the Stampe of Antiquitie, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.*

And for that I would haue this Breuiarie to passe with an vn-interrupted deliuery of the especiall affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I haue in a body apart, vnder the title of an Appendix, *Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertainments, prouisions of Armies, businesses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertayning to our History; which assoone as I haue meanes to Print, shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make vse of such Materials; accompany this Collection: and to this* Appendix, *I haue made references in the Margin, as occasion requires.*

For the Worke it selfe, I can chalenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: desirous to deliuer things done, in as euen, and quiet an order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleefe *of Antiquity, deprauing the actions of other Nations to aduance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with integritie (the chiefest duty of a Writer) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof*

to

to the Reader, as being his part rather then mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne miſtakings, or the Printers ouerſight, I muſt craue a pardon of courſe; it is a Fate common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoide it: For beſides our owne faylings, we muſt heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: as the ſummes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the ſlaine in Battayle, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Tytles &c. wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wiſhed that we had more aſſured notes of theſe particulars then we haue, eſpecially for ſummes of Monies (in regard it ſerues much for inſtruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors haue bene but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of ſo great moment, figures are eaſily miſtaken; the 10. of July, and the 6. of Auguſt, with a yeare ouer or vnder, makes not a man the wiſer in the buſineſſe then done, which is onely that hee deſires. But theſe things being but of the By, the vnderſtanding Reader will not much care to ſet at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important conſideration.



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THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF *ENGLAND: CONTAINING*

BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AFFAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT: COMPILED

by SAMVEL DANYEL, one of the *Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most Honourable priuie Chamber.*

VNdertaking to collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same from the beginning of the first Brittish Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding no authentical warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from *William* the first, Surnamed the *Bastard*) was more then enough for my abilitie: and how it was but our curiositie to search further backe into times past, then we might well discerne, and whereof, wee could neither haue proofe, nor profit: How the beginnings of all people, and States were as vncertaine, as the heads of great Riuers: and could not adde to our vertue, and peraduenture little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouertie, pyracie, robberie, and violence, howsoeuer fabulous writers (to glorifie their nations) striue to abuse the credulitie of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are euer best seene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides (it seemes) God in his prouidence to check out presumptuous inquisition, wraps vp all things in vncertaintie, barres vs out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example, and instruction to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stuffe, but not better our vnderstanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues, and Vices the same, though rising, and falling, according to the worth, or weakenesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike: and the trayne of affaires carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, vnder like colours.

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a link of dependencie with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if wee take but a superficiall view of that wide, and vncertainly-related state of this Land, since the candle of letters gaue vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributary Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Iulius Cæsar*, beeing but on the other side in *Gaule*, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of *Brittaine*, by any meanes he could vse, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast-townes, but of the state, and condition of the in-dwellers; they could say nothing: either so incurious were they of further knowledge then what concerned their trade, or the people here so warie to keepe their state reserued and vnknowne to strangers. And yet *Cæsar* giue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gaules* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and inuasion of the Land, whereof hee only subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

Of the forme of Gouernment among the *Brittaines*.

Cæs. Comment. lib. 5.

Complures sunt apud eos dominationes. Strabo *lib. 4.*

But now, what was the state, and forme of gouernment among the *Brittaines* before this subiection, the first certaine notice wee haue (is also by the same *Cæsar*) who tells vs how they were deuided into many seuerall states: nominates foure Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Cassenellaunus*, by the common councell was elected, in this their publique danger, to haue the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward, how the cities sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby we perceiue it was no Monarchie, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the *Gaules*, with whom it was then one in religion (and much a like in fashion, and language) deuided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule, or combination. As now, wee see all the west world (lately discouered) to be, and generally all other Countries are in their first, and naturall free nakednesse, before they come to be taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to head within themselues, of strength, and vnderstanding to ouer-maister, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget, And such was then the state of *Brittaine*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and all the west parts of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (ouer-growing first the people of *Italy* in like manner deuided) did by strength, and cunning, vnlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then termed Kings, were but as their Generalls in warre, without any other great iurisdiction, within those small limits they heeld. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land before that time (as if alone vnlike, or more in State then all other nations) is to giue entertainement to those narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankinde; and onely the inuention of such, as take all their reason, from the example, & *Idea* of the present Customes they see in vse. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might haue affronted the *Romans* with the power of a well-vnited state, it had beene impossible for them (hauing oftentimes much to doe euen with some poore Prince of a small territorie) to haue circumuented, or confounded (with all their stratagems, and iniustice) the peace, and liberty of the world in such sort as they did. And though the *Brittaines* were then simple, and had not that fire-brand of letters, yet seemed they more iust, and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action men as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sense of honour, and worthinesse) as themselues.

But hauing no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay loose to the aduantage of the common enemy; working vpon the factions, and emulations, vsuall to such diuisions, and were made the instruments of their owne subiection: for whilest euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome.

So that with what credit, the accoumpt of aboue a thousand yeares from *Brute* to *Cassenellaunus* (in a line of absolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leaue it on the booke to such as will bee creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon least being but to report, I might seeme

seeme to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preserued and deliuered to posteritie, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by the *Romans*; who (sure would haue giuen vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their comming, and especially of schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue beene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the *Druydes*, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge) committed not their mysteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perish with them. Which, had they had letters and bookes, could neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman* State, beene so vtterly extinct, but that we should haue heard something more of them.

Besides it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophie, should be brough hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as *Liuy* saith) before it came into *Italie*, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillars that shut vp the world, many ages after, for passing that way. If by Land, *Germany*, and other Countries on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing: but *Germany* then, we finde had no letters at all; only *Merseilles*, a *Colonie* of the Greekes being in the midway, might be a gate, to let it into *Gaule*, and so hither: but they say the *Merseillens* vsed onely Greeke Characters at first, but for their priuate accompts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise. So that it seemes then, the *Brittaines* receiued first letters (with their subiection) from the *Romanes*, and *Agricola*, Præfect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian*, caused them heere to be taught, (as *Cornelius Tacitus*, his sonne in law) reports vpon this occasion. *Aduice was taken*, sayth he, *that the people dispersed, rude, and so, apt to rebellion, should bee inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted priuately, and ayded them publikely to the building of Temples, Bourses, Pallaces: commending whom they found forward, and correcting the vnwilling, so that the emulation of honor was for necessity: then they caused the principall mens sons to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, aboue the Gaules, in so much as they who lately scorned the* Romane *tonge, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honor, the Gowne frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapsion into those softnings of vices; faire houses, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of seruitude.* Thus far he acquaints vs with the introduction, and cause of the *Romane* learning in this Land. Which (had it had the *Greeke* tonge, so many hundred yeares before) would haue beene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romanes*, and not needed this emollition by learning. Philosophy would haue prepared them to a sufferance of subiection, that they could not haue beene so vniuersally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to haue beene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can haue no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen present) let it be iudged.

And now for the time since, (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*) we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Præfects: and if they had Kings of the British Nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now their custome to haue Kings the instruments of seruitude: speaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gaue certaine Cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cæsar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much, as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that all-incompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected, the space of twenty yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had setled the soueraignty, and possest all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Citties of *Brittaine* (fearing to be enforced) came in of their owne accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather; for that as yet, they had found no other weight of sub-

Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum, vbi belli Britannici exitum expectari scribit, nullius ex ea spem prædæ; nisi ex mancipijs, ait. ex quibus nullos puto te; literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, paris eos cum Scithis barbarici instmulat.

Ingenio Gallorũ partim similes sunt, partim simpliciores, & magis barbari, Strabo lib. 4.

And it was after the subiection of *Gaule* that they intertayned Philosophers, and Phisitions for publique Readings, and became a schoole for those parts as we may perceiue by *Strabo libro 2.*

Nostra etate, in quit Strabo, *lib. 4. Regulorum quidem Britannicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam* Augusti Cæs. *consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiaremq;* Ro-

manis *totam penè insulam redegerunt*. And at that time it seemes by *Strabo*, held it not worth the garding, for that it would not quit the charge.

subiection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammations in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of their *Romane* commanders, remayned in an vncertaine obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperor; who hauing much of the fume of glorie, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especiall eye on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, foresends *Publius Ostorius Scapula* a great warrier, *Pro-prætor* into *Brittaine*, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be led: yet as one who well knew his mestier; and how the first euents are those which incusse a dauntingnesse, or daring, imployd all meanes to make his expeditions sodaine, and his executions cruell. Notwithstanding did *Caradocus* (one of the British Kings) hold these great *Romanes* worke for nine yeares together, and could not be surprized, till betrayed by his owne Nation, he was deliuered into their hands, and brought to *Rome* captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subiect of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his.

But *Claudius* had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittaine*, to the *Romane* Empire, which though thus won, was not, till a long time after, ouercome. For now the *Brittaines* (vnderstanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselues against the *Romanes*, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person, and State of Queene *Voadicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, a great, and rich Prince, who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniury: but it fell out contrary; for no sooner was he dead, but his Kingdome was spoyled by the *Centurions*, his house ransac'kt by slaues, his wife beatē, & his daughters rauished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *Iceni* (as if all the Region had beene giuen in prey) were reft of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captiues: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others (nor yet inured to seruitude) to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeited the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced *Cerialis* the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword seuenty thousand *Romans* and associats, inhabiting their municipal Townes, *London*, *Virolame*, *Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Gouernour of the Prouince could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Armie (consisting of 12000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to moone compassion and reuenge) incites them to that noble, and manly worke of liberty: which to recouer, she protests to hold her selfe there but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolued either to winne or die. Many of their wiues were likewise there, to be spectators and incouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victorie with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittanes*, whereupon *Voadicia* poysons herselfe, and the miserable Country with their heauie losse, had also more weights layd vpon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely struggled with the *Romans*, vpon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mightie Empire, were such, as the *Brittaines* (hauing no meanes, but their owne swords, in an vncomposed State, layde all open to inuasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their libertie) became vtterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subiection, by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garisons, disposed in seuerall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computated in all to be 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse; besides 37. companies contayning 23. thousand foote, and 1300 horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romane* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raysed by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Seuerus* and others.

Camolodunum, now *Maldon*.

De Notitia vtr. Imper. Panciroul.

And

And in this ſort continued the ſtate of *Britaine* whilſt the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a deiected nation could doe vnder the domination of ſtrangers proude, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their ſubſtance, but alſo conſtrained their bodies to ſerue vnder their enſignes, when or whereſoeuer their quarrellous ambition would expoſe them. And beſides, they being at the will of their rulers in their obedience, they were forced to follow them alſo in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to bee commonly made by the Armies, many poſſeſſing thoſe mightie *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Ceſars*, and put for the whole Empire. As firſt *Carauſius*, and after him *Alectus*, whom *Conſtantius* (the aſſociate of *Maximianus* in the Empire) at his firſt comming into *Britaine*, by *Aſclepiodorus* the Prætorian Præfect vanquiſhed, with all ſuch as tooke part with him. After that, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Britaines*; whom to repreſſe, *Conſtantius* (then ſole Emperour of the Weſt) came the ſecond time into this Land; and in an expedition made againſt them died at *Yorke*, whither his ſonne *Conſtantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, eſcaping a traine laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the Eaſt, with whom hee was in the warres againſt the *Sarmatians*, when his father came firſt into *Britain* againſt *Alectus*. And here was he now firſt ſaluted Emperour, for which it ſeemes he much eſteemed the Country, as that which gaue birth to his dignity. And reordering the gouernment thereof (for a future ſecurity) deuides it into fiue Prouinces to be ruled by one Vice-gerent, fiue Rectors, two Conſulars, and three Preſidents. After whoſe time wee haue no certaine nor apparant marke to direct vs which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who ſends *Theodoſius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into *Brittaine* againſt the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxones & Franci*, which of all ſides inuaded and ſpoiled the Country: and after *Theodoſius* had by the forces of the *Bataui*, and *Heruli* cleered it, *Civilis* was ſent to gouerne the Prouince, and *Dulcitius* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

The miſery of the *Brittaines* vnder the *Romans*.

De Notitia vtriuſq; Imper.

In theſe warres with *Theodoſius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the yonger *Valentinian*, hauing the charge of the Army, was here proclaimed *Ceſar*, and to ſubuert the preſent Emperour, tranſports the whole power of *Britaine*: and firſt in his way ſubdues *Gaule*, and there furniſhes euery place of defence with *Britiſh* ſouldiers: and they ſay, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittaine* in *France*) with the ſame nation: which yet retaines their language, in ſome kinde to this day. And hauing ſpred one Arme to *Spaine*, the other to *Germany*, imbraced ſo great a part of the Empire, as he draue *Valentinian* to ſeeke ayde of *Theodoſius* Emperour of the Eaſt, after the vanquiſhment and death of his brothes *Gratianus* at *Lyons*. And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garriſons, and the ableſt people of the Land, he diſ-furniſhe and left it in that impotencie, as it neuer recouered like power againe. All thoſe great forces hee tooke with him, either were left in *Gaule*, or periſhed with him at *Aquileia*, where hee was ouerthrowne by *Valentinian*.

The people of *Brittaine* conſumed in the factions of the Emperours.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Veteran* ſouldiers fearing the inuaſion of the *Vandales*, made another defection, and tumultuarilie proclaimed Emperour one *Marcus*, whom ſhortly after they ſlue; then *Gratianus*, who likewiſe within foure monthes being murthered, they gaue the title to one *Conſtantine*, not ſo much for his merite, as the omination of his name. This *Conſtantine* taking the ſame courſe that *Maximus* did, whatſoeuer ſtrength was left, or lately in any ſort recouered, he emptyed it wholy, and made himſelfe of that power, as hee ſubdued many of the Weſterne Prouinces, gaue his ſonne *Conſtans* (a Monke) the title of *Auguſtus*, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquiſhed, and executed at *Arles*. Where alſo periſhed the whole power hee brought out of *Britain*. And ſo the State (hauing all the beſt ſtrength exhauſted, and none, or ſmall ſupplies from the *Romans*) lay open to the rapine, and ſpoyle of their Northerne enemies: who taking the aduantage of this diſ-furniſhment, neuer left till

they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced them to implore the aide of *Aetius*, Præfect of *Gaule* vnder *Valentinian* 3. and that in so lamentable manner (their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre compassion) as *Aetius* was moued to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raised vpon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian* from Sea to Sea) of eight foote thicke, and twelue high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinite number of *Brittains* (fitter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aetius* left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: aduising them from thenceforth to inure and employ their own forces without any more expectation of succour from the *Romans*, who (ouerwrought with other businesse) could not attend affaires that lay so farre off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came (notwithstanding this fortification) battered down the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Country worse then before. Whereupon, againe this miserable people send to *Aetius*, vsing these words: *To Aetius thrice Consull, the sighes of the Brittains*, and after thus complaine: *The barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: betweene these two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned.* But their implorations preuailed not, for *Aetius* at that time had enough to do to keepe his owne head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now endured the last conuulsions of a dying State; hauing all the parts, and Prouinces thereof miserably rent, and torne with the violences of strange nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Brittaine* to be first made known to perish by, and with the *Roman* State: Which neuer suffering the people of this Land to haue any vse, or knowledge of Armes within their owne Countrey, left them (vpon their owne dissolution) naked, and exposed to all that would assaile them.

The end of the *Romaines* gouernment in *Brittaine*.

And so ended the *Roman* Gouernment in *Brittaine*, which (from their first inuasion by *Iulius Cæsar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of fiue hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seuen *Brittish* Kings nominated to haue reigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Aruiragus*, *Marius*, *Coelus*, & lastly *Lucius* who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* gouernours.

Anno 443.

This is briefly so much of especiall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* historie, concerning the State, and gouernment of *Brittain*: finding else-where little certaintie, and from henceforth (during their short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Whereof *Gildas* the *Brittain* complaines, laying the cause on the barbarism of their enemies, who had destroyed all their mounments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about forty yeeres after the inuasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times we come now to remember, yet hath hee left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof, as we discerne very little thereby. Nor haue the *Brittaines* any honour by that antiquity of his, which ouer-blacks them with such vgly deformities as we can see no part cleere: accusing them to be *neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in war*: and vniuersally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inueigh, not to informe. And though no doubt there was (as euer is) in these periods of States a concurrencie of disorder, and a generall looseneſse of disposition that met with the fulneſse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would haue beene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider then his charity, tooke vp the whole roome of his vnderstanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquity, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now giue Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Gildas *de excidio* Britanniæ

Anno 450.

Such was the State of *Britain* left without Armes, or order; when *Vortigern* (either by vsurpation, or faction) became King, and is sayd to be the author of the first calling in (or imploying, being in) the *Saxons* to make good his owne establishment, and the safety of his Kingdome against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

Vortigern cals in the *Saxons*.

The *Saxons* at this time possest the third part of *Germany*, holding all the Countrey betweene the Riuers *Rhene*, and *Elue*, bounded on the North by the *Baltique* Sea, and the

the *Ocean*. On the South by *Silua Hircinia*, and deuided by the riuer *Viſurgis* into *Oſtphalia*, and *Weſtphalia*: gouerned by an *Optimacie* of twelue Princes, with an election of a Soueraigne leader for the buſineſſe of warre. This beeing ſo ſpacious, populous and neere a Country, well furniſht with ſhipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded euer plentifull meanes to ſupply the vndertakers of this action (which were firſt two brothers *Hengiſt*, and *Horſa*) with all neceſſarie prouiſions vpon euery fit occaſion. After they had been here a while as ſtipendaries, and finding the debility of Prince, and people, their number ſoone increaſed. And firſt they had the Iſle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Countrie of *Kent* was made ouer to *Hengiſt* by tranſaction, vnder couenant, to defend the Land againſt the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And vpon the mariage of *Vortigern* with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengiſt*, an exceeding beautiful Lady, (brought ouer of purpoſe to worke on the dotage of a diſſolute Prince) larger priuiledges were granted: ſo that by this allyance, and the fertility of the Land, were drawne in ſo many of this populous, and militaty nation, that *Kent* in ſhort time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengiſt* (to diſtend their power into other parts) aduiſed *Vortigern* to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard againſt all inuaſions that way. Which being granted, he ſends for *Otha* his brother, and ſonne *Ebuſa*, with great ſupplies out of *Saxony* to furniſh that deſigne. And ſo came the *Saxons* to haue firſt domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Countrie from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

A deſcription of the State of the *Saxons*.

Hengiſt and *Horſa* the Leaders of the *Saxons*

Their firſt plantation.

And now became they of ſeruants maiſters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many inſolencies. Whereupon the *Britiſh* Nobility combine themſelues, depoſe *Vortigern* (the Author of this improuident admiſſion) and elect *Vortimer* his ſonne a Prince of great worth, who (whileſt hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce encounters: but all preuailed not, for the *Saxons* (being poſſeſt of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Countrie to receiue all ſupplies without reſiſtance) had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And beſides force, they are ſayd to haue vſed treachery (in murthering three hundred of the *Britiſh* Nobility) at an aſſembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke their King priſoner, and would not releaſe him, but vpon the grant of three Prouinces more. Alſo the long life of *Hengiſt* (a politique leader) of almoſt forty yeares continuance, made much for the ſetling here of their eſtate: which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effuſion of blood. For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practiſe and often battles) grew in the end ſo inraged to ſee their Countrie ſurprized from vnder their feet, as they ſolde the inheritance thereof at a very deare rare. Wherein we muſt atribute much to the worthineſſe of their Leaders (whence the ſpirit of a people is raiſed) who in theſe their greateſt actions were, eſpecially *Ambroſius* the laſt of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the nobleſt of *Brittaines*: A man in force and courage aboue man, and worthie to haue beene a ſubiect of truth to poſterity, and not of fiction (as Legendary writers haue made him;) for whilſt hee ſtood, hee bare vp the ſinking State of his Countrie, and is ſaid to haue encountred the *Saxons* in twelue ſet battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall reuenge. In the end, himſelfe ouerthrowne by treaſon, the beſt men conſumed in the warres, and the reſt vnable to reſiſt, fled into the mountaines, and remote deſerts of the Weſt parts of the Iſle, and left all to the inuadors, daily growing more, and more vpon them.

Votrigern is depoſed. *Vortimer* elected King of *Brittain*.

King *Arthur*.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (ſeeing the happy ſucceſſe, and plantation here of *Hengiſt*) entred likewiſe on diuerſe coaſts to get eſtates for themſelues, with ſuch multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were aſſaulted in another, and euery where ouerwhelmed with new increaſing numbers.

For after *Hengiſt* had obtained the dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kingdome) and *Otha*, and *Ebuſe* poſſeſt of all the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Elle*, and his ſonnes conquered the South-Eaſt parts, and beganne the kingdome of the South *Saxons*, contayning *Suſſex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his ſonnes landed at *Portſmouth*, inuadeth the South, and Weſt parts, and began the kingdome of the Weſt *Saxons*, which after contained the Countries of *Hampſhire*, *Bark-*

The ſeuerall entries made by the *Saxons*.

Barkeshire, *Wiltshire*, *Dorcetshire*, *Sommersetshire*, and *Deuonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa* inuaded the North-East parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the East Angles, containing *Northfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* beganne the kingdome of the East *Saxons*, containing *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hartfordshire*.

Hauing thus (in a manner) surrounded the best of the whole State of *Brittaine*; they after invaded the inner, and middle part. And *Cridda* beganne the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angles, contayning *Lincolnshire*, *North-hamptonshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Derbie*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with parts of the shires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford*: *Warwicke*, *Shropshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Gloucestershire*.

The *Brittaines* vtterly subdued by the *Saxons*.

And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish their dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon destruction and desolation of the whole Country, whereof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which hauing beene so long a Prouince of great honour, and benefit to the *Roman* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-waies, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to bee so vtterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point vs where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not bee taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Borroughs* raised for tombes, and defences vpon all the wide champions, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yet as characters of the deepe scratches made on the whole face of our Countrey, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall subuersion of a State is very seldome seene: Inuasion, and deuastation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recouered, with some commixtion of their owne with the generation of the inuadors. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerous populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibility of Paganisme, and Christianity, with the immense bloud-shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one Nation must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natiues, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made only at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselues. When they grew to haue further interest, they sought not the subversion, but a community, and in the end a Soueraignty of the State, matching with the women they here found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Prouince of *Nustria* in *France*, who also after they had the dominion, & what the victorie would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people here to haue their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their body. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the vniversall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey, or Prouince but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

The absolute subversion of *Brittaine*, concurred with the generall mutation of other States of the world

For vpon the breaking vp of the *Roman* Empire (first deuided into two, and then by faction disioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that ouer-ranne, and laid open the world againe to liberty, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations, and shiftings of people from one Country to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* dispossest the *Gaules*, and gaue the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Prouince. The *Gaules* transplanted themselues on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had

Gallicia

Gallicia and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Auari* ſubdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gaue the name of *Hungary*. The *Longbeards* a people of *Germany*, bordered vpon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greateſt part thereof, and left there their name to a principall prouince, remaining to this day. The *Gothes* and *Vandalles*, miſerably afflicted the reſt, ſackt *Rome*, and after ſubdued, peopled, and poſſeſt *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be vndone, but to periſh, almoſt, with the generall diſſolution of other States, which happened about the ſame age.

Lombardie ſo called of the *Longberds*.

Wherefore, we are now here to beginne with a new Body of people, with a new State, and gouernment of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the diſſolution thereof: where ſcarce a Citie, Dwelling, Riuer, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it ſelfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxony*, and ſhortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greateſt people of the inuadors) or of *Hengiſt*, called *Engiſt-Land*, or *England*. The diſtance made by the rage of warre, lay ſo wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites and Cuſtomes, came to paſſe ouer vnto vs from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Anceſtors any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they firſt diuided into eight Kingdomes: all which, continued to the laſt extermination of the *Brittaines* vnder *Caretius* their King, with whom they were driuen ouer *Seuerne*, 136. yeares after the firſt entertainment of *Hengiſt*. And ſoone after, the *Saxons*, encroching vpon each other parts, or States (which neuer held certaine bounds) and the ſtronger vſurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to ſeauen Kingdomes; that of the *Northumbrains*, being made one of two: and then to ſixe (the Weſt *Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Suſſex* to their dominion.) And ſo it continued about 250. yeares.

At the firſt, by the ſpace of 150. yeares, they were meerely gouerned by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Auguſtine* the Monke, ſent with forty others, by Pope *Gregory*, had conuerted *Æthelbert*, King of *Kent*, and ſome other, they all ſhortly after receiued the Chriſtian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions. Many of their Kings, when their ſterne aſperity grew mollified by humility of the Religion, beganne to raiſe preſently ſo many and great monuments of their piety, in all parts of the Land, as if they ſtriued who ſhould exceed therein, and had no other glory? Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for ſpirituall ſolitude, and became Monkes: as *Aetheldred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*; *Eadbert* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-land*, and Weſt Saxe, ſo farre ouer-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who ſhould haue all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wiſe, and religious Prince, gouerning the Weſt *Saxons*, firſt aduanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to haue ſubdued *Mercna-land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire poſſibility to haue ſwallowed vp both the Weſt *Saxons*, and all the reſt of the Kingdoms. For whilſt he liued, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was eſteemed as the eſpeciall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murther committed in his houſe vpon *Aethelbert* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, comming to him vnder publique faith, and a Suitor to his daughter, were iuſtly reuenged vpon his poſterity, which after him declining, in the end loſt all. For *Egbert* deſcended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdome of the Weſt *Saxons*, began the way to bring all the reſt into ſubiection. And being a Prince, who (from a priuate fortune, wherein he liued below, with, and not aboue other men) had learned ſufferance and moderation; and by the eſtate of an exile, experience; grew to haue great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne-fortunes, and roſe by theſe meanes.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without iſſue, left the ſucceſſion imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that thoſe foure Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*, who ſeuerally ſucceeded him; *Ethelard Sigibert*, *Kinulph* and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then

then by right of descent. And *Britric* knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of *Egbert*; with his propinquity in bloud, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which he perceiuing, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Britric* had (to strength himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into *France*, and there remayned till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines that kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; subdues *Cornewall*, inhabited by the *Brittaines*; and after sets vpon *Bernulph*, newly inuested in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the sonne of *Offa*, enioyed but foure moneths, the inheritance of his fathers immanity: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kennulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murthered by his sister *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kennulph*, succeeding, after his first yeeres reigne, was expeld by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the West *Saxons*, as hee did after that of the South, and East *Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soueraignty of the whole country. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him backe from enioying such a fulnesse of power, as that wee may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the *Danes* continued vnsubiected. For they hauing first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) euer after held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute soueraignty to themselues.

Egbert obtayned the kingdome, which by him was named *England*.

An. 802.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adiacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiuing here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part; the coast lying open to inuasion, and the many diuisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way thereunto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Brittaines*, and drew to setling of a Monarchy; the *Danes*, as if ordained to reuenge their slaughters, beganne to assault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters betweene these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinit spoiles committed in euery part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately deliuered, is yet a warre to the reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them ouer.

The description of the *Danes*.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Aethelwolph*, his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the West *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall seruice) for the seruice of God: besides an annuity of three hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious vses at *Rome*; whither hee went twice in person, with his youngest sonne *Alfred*, whom he especially loued; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annoynted a King, at eleuen yeares of age, as if diuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last iourney, and whole yeeres stay at *Rome*; *Aethelbald*, his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the West *Saxons*, to keepe him out, and depriue him vtterly of his gouernment, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the West *Saxons*, to *Aethelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Aethelbald* succeeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, *Iudith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauue*, King of *France*, enioyed it but two yeeres and a halfe; when *Aethelred*, the second sonne of *Aethelulph*, entred to the gouernment, which hee held

fiue

fiue yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom,

ALFRED, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twenty yeares of his age (& in a yeere wherein eight seuerall battailes had beene giuen to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) began his troublous reigne, wherein he was perpetually in warre, either against his enemies, or else against vices. *An. 872* *Alfred.*

First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeeld vp a part of the kingdome (which was that of the East *Angles*, and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (vpon his baptization) he made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before he vsurped by violence.

And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as those of *Offa*, King of *Merena-land*, and *Aethelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the graue aduice and consent of his States assembled, he makes choyce of the fittest, abrogates those of no vse, and addes other according to the necessity of the time. K. *Alfred* first made collection of the *Saxon* Lawes.

And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to vnlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could trauaile without conuoy: he ordained the diuision of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that euery English man (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) liuing legally, might be of a certaine Hundred, or Tithing, out of which, he was not to remoue without security: and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, hee was likewise to produce sureties for his behauiour; which if he could not finde, hee was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before, or after he had put in sureties escaped, all the Tithing, or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured trauailers, and the peace of his Countrey. The first deuision of the Land into Shires, Hundreds and Tithings.

The opinion hee had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongst his greatest mistortunes to haue been bred without it, and to haue his kingdome so vtterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this barbarous warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and hauing gotten them, hee both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not too much themselues) held them in great veneration: Rareneſſe then, setting a higher price on meaner parts, then after plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald*, and *Scotus*, hee drew out of *France*: *Asser* (who wrote his life) out of Wales, other from other part: hee was the first lettered Prince wee had in *England*, by whose meanes and incouragement publique Schooles had here, either their reuiuing or beginning. Publique Schooles first erected.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sons, with whom were bred vnder most diligent maisters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleere from other businesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to translate many things into the vulgar tongue, which he laboured (it seemes) much to adorne, and especially affected the *Saxons* meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of Poet. *West. Westm.*

The naturall day, consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight hee spent in prayer, study, and writing; eight in the seruice of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (hauing then no other engine for it) hee measured by a great waxe light, deuided into so many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall houres passed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, hee tooke a precise notice of them, and made a generall suruay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of fortune, with a weake disposition of body, and reigned 27. yeares, leauing his son *Edward*, a worthy successor to maintaine the line of Nobleneſſe thus begun by him. The first suruay of the Kingdome.

EDWARD

Anno 900. *Edwardus Senior.*

EDWARD, though hee were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdom of *Mercna-land* in poſſeſſion, wherof *Alfred* had but the homage, and as ſome write, held ſoueraignty ouer the Eaſt *Angles*, and *Northumbrians*: though wee finde (in the ioynt Lawes that he, and *Guthrum* made together) they held the ſame confederation fore-concluded by *Alfred*. He alſo ſubdued the *Brittaines* in *Wales*: fortified, and furniſhed with garriſons diuerſe townes in *England* that lay fit to preuent the incurſions of the *Danes*: and was all his reigne of 23. yeares in continuall action, and euer before hand with fortune. And ſurely his father, he, and many that ſucceeded during this *Danicq* warre, though they loſt their eaſe, won much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them ſo in, as hauing little out-lets, or leaſure for eaſe, and luxury; they were made the more pious, iuſt, and carefull in their gouernment: otherwiſe it had beene impoſſible to haue held out againſt the *Danes*, as they did, being a people of that power, and vndantable ſtomacke, as no fortune could deterre, or make to giue ouer their hold. And the imbecility of ſome vnactiue Prince, at that time had beene enough to haue let them quite into the whole: which may bee the cauſe, that in the ſucceſſion of ſome of theſe Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of courſe, in reſpect of their ableneſſe. As firſt, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his ſon

Anno 924. *Athelſtan* a Baſtard preferred before the lawfull ſonne.

ATHELSTAN of full yeares, and ſpirit, was (notwithſtanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate ſon *Edmond* vnder age: Nor did *Athelſtan* diſappoint the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iuſtice, and Magnanimity, and after ſixteene yeeres reigne died without iſſue.

Anno 940. *Edmond.*

EDMOND his brother ſucceeded him: A Prince likely to haue equalled the worth of his Predeceſſors, had he not vntimely periſhed by the hand of a baſe Out-law in his owne houſe, at a feſtiuall, amidſt his people that deerely loued, and honoured him. And though he left two ſons, yet was

Anno 946. *Edred* or *Eldred.*

EDRED his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his Anceſtors) was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes* during the whole time of his reigne, which was ten yeares.

Edwin.

EDWIN his nephew, the eldeſt ſon of *Edmond*, ſucceeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the courſe of goodneſſe liued diſſolutely, and died wiſhedly. Otherwiſe had *Edgar* (the other ſon of *Edmond*) continued that rare ſucceſſion of good Princes, without the interpoſition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

Anno 959. *Edgar.* *Edgar* prouides ſhipping.

EDGAR, though he were but ſixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counſell, was by the graue aduice of his Biſhops (who in that time of zeale held eſpecially the raines on the hearts, and affections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodneſſe, and became a moſt heroicall Prince.

Amongſt other his excellent actions of gouernment, hee prouided a mighty Nauy to ſecure his coaſts from inuaſion, which now hee found (though late) was the onely meane to keepe out thoſe miſeries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the Land euer before negligent, or not inured to Sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* firſt ſubdued the ſame, there was no ſhipping but a few ſmall veſſels made of wicker, and couered with hides: whereby they, and after the *Danes* (both mighty, as thoſe times gaue, in ſhipping) found that eaſie footing they had. Yet *Egbert* is ſaid to haue prouided a ſtrong Nauy, about the yeere 840. And *Alfred* thirty or forty yeeres after did the like. But either now diſ-uſed, or conſumed by the enemy, *Edgar* re-edifies, and ſets forth a Fleete conſiſting (as ſome write) of 1600. ſaile, others a farre greater number; & thoſe he diuides, and places in foure parts of the Realme, making his progreſſe yearely, with part of his mighty Nauy, round about the whole Iſle, whereof hee aſſumed the title of King.

A moſt vſefull progreſſe.

And to reduce it to one name, and Monarchie, hee was intituled King of all *Albion*,

as

as testifies his Charter granted to the Abbey of *Maldesmesbury*, in these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimorum, seu insulanorum Regum circùm habitantium, &c.* For he hauing first of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet cohabitation through all his dominions; had the soueraignetie ouer them: And *Kenneth*, King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*, giuen to that Crowne by King *Edmond* his father; or for his whole Kingdome; I cannot say. And fiue Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that hee seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this land, that hitherto we finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the title of *Pacificus*: and rendred his Kingdome (neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beene giuen to shew, and not to vse (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his reigne of sixteene yeares: being too short to close the dissieuered ioynts of a commixed Kingdome; which was onely, to haue beene the worke of Time: and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to haue aduanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordained to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leauing his son *Edward*, a child, to vndergoe the miseries of nonage, to bee made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who to aduance her owne son *Ethelred*, brake in ouer the bounds of Nature and right, to make his way: and is sayd, her selfe to haue murthered him, comming to her house, estrayed, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of *Purbeck*.

Hee reigned 16. yeares.

Saint *Edward*. *A.* 975.

Ethelred.

BVT *Ethelred*, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground: the entrance to whose reigne was bloud; the middle, misery; and the end, confusion. They write, Saint *Dunstan* preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (fore-told him) of the calamities would follow this transgression: saying: *For that thou hast aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murthered by thy mother; thus saith the Lord: The sword shall neuer depart from thy house, raging against thee all the daies of thy life, slaying those of thy seed till the Kingdome be transferred to another, whose fashion, and language, thy people shall not know. Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Counsellors, bee expiated, but by long auengement.* And this (whether so vttered or not) was ratified in the euent. For either this vniust disordering the succession, or the concurrency of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begunne Monarchie fell quite asunder, and begat the occasion of two Conquests, by forraine Nations, within the space of fiftie yeares.

A. 978.

Two conquests of this Kingdome in fiftie yeare.

For the *Danes*, hauing now beene so long inmates with the English, dispread ouer all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater then euer: so that this opportunitie of a young and vnsettled Prince, in a new and brangling State, drew ouer such multitudes of other of the same Nation, as euery coast and part of the Land, were miserably made the open rodes of spoile and saccage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any certaine head against them: for if incountred in one place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where al preparations were raised, as nothing could be effected auayable to quaile them; Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not preuaile with the sword, to assaile them with mony, and bought a peace for 10000 pounds: which God wot, proued after, a very deere peny-worth to the common wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power, & the buyer, at how hard a rate his necessity was to be serued; & yet not sure of his bargaine, longer then the contractor would. Who hauing found the benefit of

The spoiles made by the *Danes*.

The originall of *Dane* gelt, the first imposition layd vpon the kingdome.

this market, raiſed the price thereof almoſt euery yeare. And yet had not *Ethelred* what he paide for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from ſpoile and inuaſion; but rather the more now oppreſt, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the firſt we finde in our Annales, laide vpon the Kingdome (and with heauie grieuance raiſed in a poore diſtreſſed State) continuing many ages after the occaſion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vſuall ſupplyment, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occaſions of Princes.

And hereby *Ethelred* both inlarged the meanes, and deſire of the enemy, ſo that at length, came *Swain*, King of *Denmarke*, and *Aulafe*, King of *Norway*, in perſon, as if likewiſe to receiue hire for committing outrage; and were both returned with great ſums, and *Aulafe* of a milder diſpoſition, with baptiſme. Theſe calamities from abroad, were made more, by the diſloyalties at home, faith and reſpect (being ſeldome found ſafe in loſt fortunes) held not in moſt of the principall men imployed in the defence. *Aelfrick*, Admirall of the Nauy, is ſaid to haue giuen intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and diſappointed that worke. The Earles *Fran*, *Frithigiſt*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle*, deſcended of *Danike* progeny, and of greateſt commaund, deceiued the armies by Land, and were the authors of diſcouragement to the people they led. *Edric Earle* of *Marc-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with euerlaſting ignominie, and the title of *Falſe*, for his barbarous diſloyaltie, fruſtrating all attempts wherein he was imployed.

Wolnod, a Nobleman, for his miſdemeanor outlawed, made depredations on the coaſtes, with twentie ſhippes, and was the cauſe that foureſcore more ſent to take him in, were vtterly conſumed. This defection of his Nobilitie, howſoeuer it might bee by their owne diſcontent, emulation, corruption, or affection, is laide to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet wee finde more vnfortunate then weake, howſoeuer they haue ſet his marke: and neglected no occaſion to make reſiſtance and preparations againſt all euents, bringing often his affaires to the verie point of diſpatch, and yet put by, at an inſtant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to doe worthily: which howſoeuer it were, (beſides the miſerie to looſe) hee muſt haue (that which accompanies infelicitie) *Blame*, and *Reproach*. Though the many and deſperate battailes hee made; and good conſtitutions for the gouernment; the prouiſions to ſupply all important occaſions, ſhew, that he was not much behind the beſt Princes, but onely in fortune.

By the example of *Edgar* his father, he procured a mightie Nauie; cauſing of euery three hundred and ten Hide or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to bee built, and of euery eight, a Corſlet to bee found: Yet all this ſhipping ſtood him in little ſtead, but was either quaſht with tempeſt, conſumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwiſe made vnuſefull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were diſappointed. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with ſtrange inundations, wrought likewiſe their part, as if conſpirators of deſtruction, all concurred to make a diſmall ſeaſon.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned to raiſe againe new ſummes, by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then euer; receiues a fee for bloud-ſhed, to the ſumme of 48000 pounds, granted in the generall aſſembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of ſeruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vſe of like liberties, and a perfect vnion betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hoſtages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, ſcarce held out the yeare: When the occaſion of greater miſchiefes was giuen by a vniuerſall maſſacre of the *Danes* ſuddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the ſuggeſtion of *Hune*, a great Commaunder, and a violent warrier of that time: Vrging the inſolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wiues and Daughters of great men, with many other intollerable diſorders.

Such,

Such, and ſo ſuddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the kingdome at one inſtant, as ſhewed the concurrencie of an inueterate rankor, and incompatibility of theſe two nations, impoſſible to be conioyned. So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of alliance, were auaileable to ſaue them from ſlaughter. Wherein to incenſe the more their king, *Gunild*, his ſiſter, a woman of maſculine courage, who had a little before receiued Chriſtendome, a mediator and pledge of the peace, hauing firſt her husband and ſon ſlaine in her ſight, rather with a threatning, then appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for reuenge, and foretelling her bloud would, as it did, coſt *England* deere.

The maſſacre of the *Danes*. *A.*1002.

Gunild ſlaine.

Soone was the notice of this enormious act, giuen to *Swaine*, and as ſoone armed with rage and power, re-entred hee the kingdome, hauing now a fayrer ſhew to doe ſowly, then euer: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not ſo forward to maintayne their act, as to commit it, rather were content to giue him the poſſeſſion of their country, then that hee ſhould win it: the greateſt part of the Kingdome ſubmitting themſelues vnto him; onely the Citie of *London*, which *Ethelred* held fortified, made noble reſiſtance till hee left them; and conueyed himſelfe firſt into the Iſle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had ſent *Emma* his Queene, with their two ſonnes, *Alfred* and *Edward*, before, from the rage of this tempeſt. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England*, vpon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to haue beene crowned King, and had generally taken hoſtages and oathes of fealty, died ſuddenly, leauing his ſon *Knute* to ſucceed his fortunes, and accompliſh what he intended.

Swaine with *England*.

Ethelred flies into *Normandie*.

Swaines death.

Ethelred returning, was ſoone furniſht with an Army, ſets vpon *Knute* in *Lindſey*, where he lay with his fathers ſhipping, and Hoſtages, and draue him to take the ſeas: wherewith inraged, making about to *Sandwich*, hee miſerably mangled, and diſmembred thoſe hoſtages, and ſo ſent them home: himſelfe, with the ſpoiles his father and he had gotten, returned to his Country, to make greater preparations for the proſecution of his purpoſe. *Ethelred* in the meane time, to increaſe the ſumme of reuengement with more wrath, at a generall aſſembly at *Oxford*, cauſed many of the *Danish* Nobility to be murthered: Among which were *Sigiferth*, and *Alderbon*, Earles of *Northumberland*, whom the falſe *Edric* (who had a hand on each ſide for miſchiefe) inuiting to his lodging, vnder pretence of feaſting, barbarouſly cauſed to be ſlaine: their followers, after they had ſo long as they could deſperately defended themſelues and their maiſters, fled into a Church, where they were with the ſame burnt. *Knute*, armed with the greateſt of his owne and neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without reſiſtance, had all the Weſt parts rendred vnto him, with pledges for their obedience, and furniſhment with horſe and armor. Here the falſe *Edric* leaues his Liege-lord, and yeelds vp forty ſhips, and his perfidi'd faith to *Knute*. *Ethelred*, languiſhing in minde and body, *Edmond* his ſon, ſirnamed *Ironſide* (to oppoſe youth to youth) was imployed againſt this rebious inuador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found faith, had made it ſo, and deliuered his Country at that turne, from the worſt of miſeries, the conqueſt by ſtrangers.

Knute returnes.

Ethelreds death.

Knute. Edmond Ironſide.

BVT now vpon the death of *Ethelred* (whoſe 37. yeares reigne, ſhewes that infelicity ſhall haue time too much, and happineſſe too little.) *Knute* was by moſt of the Clergie and Nobility choſen King: onely the Citty of *London*, with ſome of the Nobility there about, made election of *Edmond*, and furniſhed him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is moſt in the firſt attempts) hee had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewiſe obtained the fourth at *Eſſindon* (likely to haue beene the laſt with the *Danes*) but that the diſloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord, ſeeing *Edmonds* part in poſſibilitie to preuaile) againe betraied his truth, and withdrew himſelfe,

Edmond Ironſide ſonne to *Ethelred*, by his firſt wife *Ethelgina*. *A.*1016.

and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatal battel loſt *England*: here periſhed the beſt flower of honour it then had: Here amongſt the reſt was ſlaine, *Vlkill*, an Earle of *Eſſex*, of euer memorable worth, who had long ſtood vp for the Kingdome, and in the time of *Swaine*, was the firſt that ſhewed there was hope and poſſibility to quaile the enemy, had there beene an vnion in loyaltie.

Edmonds ſingle combate with *Knute*.

From this bloudy worke, *Edmond* eſcapes to *Gloceſter*, to recollect new forces; nor was hee ſo forſaken with this fortune, but that hee ſoone recouered another armie, to re-aſſaile the enemie, that might bee idle vpon this victorie. But *Knute*, as prouident in the proſecution of his buſineſſe, as fortunate therein, makes after: Here, when both Armies were at the point to incounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some ſay the two Kings, by ſingle combat conſented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all: and that (in an Iſle of the riuer *Seuern*, their Armies on either ſhore, ſpectators of the act) they tried the maiſtery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they caſt away their weapons, imbraced, and concluded the peace. But howſoeuer; it ſeemes (both ſides tyred with the miſerie of a conſuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the vtter extirpation of the one; and conſidering the danger of either, and incertaintie of the future) were eaſily perſwaded to imbrace a preſent agreement: which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremonie to expreſſe the attonement of their mindes, as if they made tranſaction of their perſons each to other. *Knute* became *Edmond*, and *Edmond*, *Knute*. A fatall exchange, for ſo free and magnanimous a Prince, as *Edmond*: who indeed, was now no more himſelfe; and being but halfe a King, was in ſo few dayes after, none: as makes this peace ſhew fouler then warre: for that armed him for life, this expoſed him naked to death, which was ſhortly after treacherouſly giuen him at *Oxford*; ſome ſay, by the ſon of *Edric* (as if to ſhew hee would bee the heire of his father alſo in Treaſon) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were vtterly loſt, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all we haue elſe of his magnanimous actions) tooke vp ſcarce the circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that bene ſpace enough for glorie (whoſe meaſure is to be taken rather by the profundity, then the length, which ſeldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to haue died at the battaile of *Eſſenden* with *England*, then condeſcended to haue made it halfe *Denmarke*, and liue.

Peace concluded.

England deuided betweene them.

The death of King *Edmond Ironſide* at Oxford.

Knute.

A. 1018. *Knute* the firſt *Danique* King.

BVT by this meanes, *Knute* attained the abſolute dominion of the whole Kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iuſtice then hee got it, conforming his natiue roughneſſe, to a more ciuill, and regular faſhion of life: And to haue *England* ſee, that now he was hers; he ſends away his Nauie, and ſtipendary ſouldiers, home to their countries, and puts himſelfe wholly, vpon this people; taking the way of mildneſſe, a better meanes for his eſtabliſhment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, & this euacuation of Strangers, 83000 pounds of ſiluer; which it rather conſented to doe at once, then to haue them a daily burthen, to peſter the State for euer.

83000 pounds paide to King *Knute* for euacuation of Strangers.

At his firſt comming to the Crowne, he ſought to rid himſelfe, as well of his friends, as of thoſe might prooue his enemies. *Edric*, who came firſt to ſalute him ſole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him ſo) hee cauſed his head to be ſet on the higheſt part of the Tower of *London*; therein performing his promiſe, of aduancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby diſcharged himſelfe of ſuch a debt; which, though he ſhould haue paide, would neuer yet bee held fully cleered: giuing a generall ſatisfaction therby to the people, that reioyced to ſee Treaſon ſo iuſtly rewarded. Like compenſation had ſhortly after, the Earles *Turkill*, & *Erick*, who being baniſhed the Land, were executed vpon their arriuall in *Denmarke*. But the loue, and high opinion of Iuſtice he got in theſe, were loſt againe in thoſe actions, wherein hee tooke counſell

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onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all thoſe of the Royall bloud of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward* the ſons of the late King *Edmond* (to whom appertained the moietie of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother; which three, hee ſent to be murthered abroad, to beguile the rumor at home: But, which is ſtrange; thoſe times, though rough, affoorded not yet an inſtrument for the execution of his deſire: and all theſe Princes were preſerued, and conueyed out of danger by thoſe, who ſhould haue made them away. The two laſt were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungarie*, where *Edward* (ſuruiuing his brother) married *Agatha* ſiſter to that Queene, (and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond) by whom he had two ſons, *Edmond* and *Edgar*; daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*.

Edward married to *Agatha*, the Queene of *Hungaries* ſiſter.

Aelfred, and *Edward*, ſons of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preſerued by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* their Vncle, and ſo lay out of his way. This priuate iniuſtice (which often may be more in compaſſion, then hurt to the State) hee ſought to recompence with all publique ſatisfactions: repairing the naufrage of the common-wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monaſteries, with large patents of prouiſions; both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankefulneſſe to God. The Conſtitutious Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuile, diuulged in the language of that time, teſtifie his tender piety, and care of Iuſtice: and are ſo full of religious admonitions, as it ſeemes he held, the beſt meanes to haue lawes obſerued, was, by hauing them firſt enacted in the conſciences of men. Amongſt others, hee inflicted exact puniſhment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed againſt publique manners. Seuere he was, but not cruell: few of his lawes ſanguinarie, as being not the cuſtome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners, without that luctuall remedie of bloud. No puniſhments capitall, vnleſſe conſpiracies: the reſt were all pecuniarie mulcts, baniſhments, bondage, or impriſonment. To ſhew his clemency, this (amongſt many) is one example: there was a law, that *Whoſoeuer had committed theft, and the goods found in his houſe, all his family were made bond, euen to the child in the cradle*: This he abrogates as moſt vniuſt, and ordaines, *That onely the malefactor, and ſuch as ſhould aide him, ſhould endure the puniſhment, and that the wife (vnleſſe the things ſtolne were found vnder her locke) ſhould not be guilty of her husbands offence.*

His erection of Churches and of Church gouernment.

Thus was hee to his people, with whom, hee is ſayd to haue ſo well cleered himſelfe (howſoeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Countrie. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did many popular acts: as firſt all Rites of Honor and reuerence to the memorie of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: beſides, the executing all ſuch as could bee found to haue had any hand in that murther. Then married hee here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had beene the perſecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his ſiſter might haue other by him.

Hauing thus eſtabliſhed this mightie Kingdome, occaſion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conſpiring to depoſe him, grew into faction: whereupon hee faſtens; and with the great forces hee brought out of *England*, the might of money, and high eſtimation of his worthineſſe, ſo preuailed, as hee ſoone obteyned that Kingdome; and was now the moſt renowned and potent Prince in all theſe parts of the world: intitled, King of *England*, *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

Knute King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was eſpecially extended to the Church, which hee laboured moſt to gratifie, either for the conſcience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to powre out his immenſe bounty heere within the land, ſeekes to makes *Rome* alſo feele the fulneſſe thereof; whither he went in perſon, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the *Saxon* ſchoole, his predeceſſors of

England had founded, from all impoſition: as hee did likewiſe all ſtreights and paſſages, where trauailers were with rigor conſtrained to pay toll.

Of his entertainment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrade* the Emperour, and diuerſe other Princes of the Chriſtian world, himſelfe writes to the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an eſpeciall regard to the due adminiſtration of Iuſtice, to all his ſubiects alike, without doing the leaſt wrong for his gaine, hauing no neede to aduance his reuenue by ſin: And alſo charges them to ſee all *Churchſcot* and *Romeſcot* fully cleered before his returne.

Knute the moſt abſolute monarch of this Kingdome, of any that was before him.

The actiue vertue of this Prince, being the mightieſt, and moſt abſolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of ſect, and firſt of a new Gouernment, is ſuch; as ſhewes he ſtriued by all worthy waies, to lay the groundworke of a State; which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his poſteritie, then not. And as likely was he, to haue beene the roote of a ſucceſſion, ſpreading into many deſcents, as was afterward the *Norman*; hauing as plentifull an iſſue maſculine, as he: beſides, he reigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of diſpoſition more bountifull, and of power, larger to do good. But it was not in his fate; his children miſcaried in the ſucceſſion, and all this great worke fell in a manner with himſelfe.

Harold.

A. 1038. HArald, the eldeſt ſonne of *Knute* (ſome write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danique* Nobilitie, in an aſſembly at *Oxford*) was made King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, and the Nobility of *England*, would haue choſen *Hardiknute*, borne of Queene *Emme*, or elſe *Alfride*, the ſon of *Ethelred*, who is ſayd to haue come out of *Normandy*, vpon the death of *Knute*, to claime the Crowne; But *Harald*, being at hand carried it; The firſt act of whoſe reigne, was the baniſhment, and ſurprizing all the Treaſure of his ſtep-mother Queene *Emme*: Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfride* her ſon, his competitor: and committing him to a loathſome priſon, where he died. For which deed, the Earle *Godwin* beares a foule marke, as betraying him. Queene *Emme* repaires to *Baldowin*, Earle of *Flanders*, her kinſman, where ſhe remained during the reigne of *Harold*, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her ſonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as it ſeemes prepared for ſome thing elſe, then to viſit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*.

Harolds cruelties.

Hardiknute.

A. 1041. THis *Hardiknute* inueſted in the Gouernment, ſoone fruſtrated the hope and opinion fore-conceiued of him: and firſt in like ſort beganne with that degenerous act of reuenge (wherein none are ſayd ſo much to delight in, as women) cauſing the body of the late King to be vntomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into Thames; Then makes inquiſition for ſuch as were guiltie of the death of *Alfride*, his brother by the mother: whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Biſhop of *Worceſter* are accuſed; The Biſhop is diſpoſſeſt his Sea: and the Earle with a rich and rare deuiſed preſent, in forme of a ſhip of gold, appeaſed that furie: making proteſtation of his innocency before the whole Nobility, with whom in reſpect his deepe roote had ſpread ſo many branches, he ſtood firme, and all the blame was layde to the violence and rankor of the late King.

Beſides the offending theſe great men, hee added a generall grieuance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largeſſe, giuing to euery Mariner of his Nauy eight Markes, and to euery Maiſter tenne, which he impoſed to bee paide by the State. But after hauing called home *Edward* his other halfe brother, out of *Normandy*, hee liued not long, for farther violences; Dying ſuddenly the ſecond yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greateſt iolity, not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

And

And with him ended the Gouernment of the *Danes* in *England* (hauing onely continued 26. yeeres vnder theſe three laſt Kings) and that without any cracke or noyſe, by reaſon the nation had no predominant ſide, that might ſway the State, in reſpect of the remiſſion of their power home in the firſt yeere of *Knute*, and no great admiſsion of others after: and that ſuch, as were here before, were now ſo incorporated with the *Engliſh*, as they made one body: and moſt of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer againſt *Denmarke*: whereby, that which with all the ſtrugling, no power or diligence of man could reſiſt, expired of it ſelfe: leauing *England* to a King of her own, and *Denmarke* to ciuill diſcord about the ſucceſsion; *Norway* likewiſe returning obedience to a ſon of *Olaue*, recouered quietneſſe, and a home-borne King.

The reaſon of the extinction of the *Danes* in *England*.

Anno 1042.

Edward the Confeſſor.

EDWARD (the ſon of *Ethelred*) is ſent for into *Normandy*, and by the whole State elected, and crowned King of *England*, at *Wincheſter*, by *Edſine* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1042. beeing about forty yeeres of age. *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, was a principall agent in his preferment, but, for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as hauing deerely paide for the admiſsion of ſtrangers) ordained, that he ſhould not bring any *Normans* with him. The firſt Act he did, was the remiſſion of the *Danegilt*, impoſed by his Father, which amounted to forty thouſand pounds yeerely, and had beene payd for forty yeeres paſt. Hee cauſed the Lawes to bee collected, out of thoſe of the *Mercians*, Weſt *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to bee written in Latine. He was a Prince moſt highly renowmed for his piety; and fit for no other, then the calme time he had. For hauing beene ſo long brought vp with the *Nunnes* at *Iumieges* in *Normandy*, he ſcarce knew to be a man, when he came into *England*. And to ſhew how little he vnderſtood himſelfe; they note, how in a great anger, he ſayd to a baſe fellow, that diſturbed his game in hunting, *I would puniſh thee, were I able*. And, as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, hee was ſo farre from knowing other women (either through conſcience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, proteſted her ſelfe free from any carnall act done by him, and yet liued he (for the moſt part) with her in all formall ſhew of marriage.

Edward the Confeſſor.

Anno 1042.

His continency.

The ſoft ſimplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatneſſe of the Earle *Godwin*, and his children, who for that he would ſeeme the eſpeciall man in his preferment to the Crowne; and by matching his daughter *Edith* to him, ſwayed chiefly the wheele of that time: and yet not without oppoſition: For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and ſpirit) ſeeing him moſt for himſelfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the preſent benefit both of the King, and State; For the Earle *Syward* would not be behind hand, in effecting as braue deedes in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Weſtſexe*, the ſon of the Earle *Godwin* performed againſt the *Welch*, in the Weſt: For the firſt depriued of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an vſurper, and inueſted *Malcolin*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*; the other defeited *Ris*, and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and ſubdued that Prouince to this Crowne.

Earle *Godwins* greatneſſe.

The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of noble actions.

Beſides the Earle *Godwin*, had to ſtruggle with an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, firſt to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting moſt that nation, as being part of their bloud, and bred amongſt them. Of whom it ſeemed (notwithſtanding the former order taken to the contrary) he had many about his perſon, whoſe neereneſſe, being ſtrangers, whatſoeuer they did, could not auoyd to be thought to doe all offices againſt the Earle, and the *Engliſh* in generall: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens deſires, was thought to be their cauſe. And in ſtomackes full charged, this occaſion gaue more fire. *Euſtace* Earle of *Bulloigne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings ſiſter, hauing beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking vp lodgings at *Douer*, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen ſlaine; The Earle arriuing with all his traine, purſues,

Euſtace Earle of *Bulloigne* maried *Goda* the Kings ſiſter.

purſues, and ſlue the homicide, with 18. other. The City ſeeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle loſt 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he haſtes to the King, aggrauates the inſolency of the Citizens ſo farre; that the Earle *Godwin* is ſent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make againſt the City of *Douer*, to chaſtice the people. The Earle (conſidering it was vpon the information of one ſide) aduiſed the King rather to ſend for the chiefe of the City, to vnderſtand what they could ſay for themſelues, and accordingly to proceed; which (being taken for a coldneſſe in the buſineſſe, and of fauour to his Countrimen) gaue the King and his enemies occaſion to ſuſpect his affection.

Earle *Godwins* inſurrection.

Shortly after, the Earle is ſummoned to an Aſſembly at *Gloceſter*, where neither hee, nor any of his ſons would appeare; and ſuſpecting ſome practiſe againſt him by his enemies, raiſes forces, pretending to ſuppreſſe the *Welch*, who were not found to offend; whereupon the Aſſembly remoues to *London*, ſummons him againe to make his appearance, to diſmiſſe his forces, and to come onely attended with twelue perſons. Hee ſends them word; to diſmiſſe his forces hee was content, or any thing elſe the King would command him, ſo it were with the ſafety of his life and honour; but to come diſaccompanied, was for neither. Then was hee commanded within fiue dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Touſtaine*, and *Swayne* his ſons, gets him into *Flanders*, where *Touſtaine* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldowin* the 5. *Harald* his eldeſt ſon, departs into *Ireland*: the King puts from him the Queene, to bee partaker of the diſgrace, and miſery of her houſe; who is deſcribed (by the writers of thoſe times) to haue beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this deſperate fortune (whilſt the *French* and his enemies poſſeſt the King) fell to Piracy, diſturbed the coaſts, approached *London*, by the Riuer; and being ſo popular, as no forces would oppoſe againſt him, made at length his owne peace with power; in ſuch ſort, as the *French* fearing reuenge, forſooke both the Court, and Kingdome.

The *French* forſake the Court, and Kingdome of *England*.

Thus (as fore-pointing to a ſtorme that was gathering on that coaſt) began the firſt difference with the *French* nation: which, thus acquainted with the diſtraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on thoſe aduantages, and were inſtruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weakeneſſe of the King, and the diſproportionate greatneſſe of the Earle *Godwin*, being riſen vp from ſo great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his ſides ſtrong) increaſed theſe diſcontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of iniuſtice, by the ſway of power and paſſion, were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but enduring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen *Emmes* affliction and triall.

And it is ſaid, that *Emme*, the Queene mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, ſuffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her ſelfe of a ſcandall raiſed on her with *Alwyn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſhe vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to paſſe blind-fold, with bare feete, ouer certaine plough-ſhare, made red hote, and layd an vneuen diſtance one before the other) which ſhe ſafely performed. And the reaſon why, both her ſon and the State ſo little reſpected this great Lady, whoſe many yeeres had made her an actor in diuers fortunes, was, for that ſhe neuer affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children ſhe had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and ſubduer of the Kingdome, whom ſhe euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

It ſeemed theſe priuate grudges, with mens particular ends, held theſe times ſo buſied, that the publike was neglected, and an iſſue-leſſe King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practiſes vpon: though for his owne part, hee ſhewed to haue had a care for the ſucceſsion, in ſending for his Nephew *Edward*, intitled the Outlaw, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, ſhortly after his arriuall, died, and *Edgar* his ſon (ſurnamed *Atheling*) to ſay Prince *Edgar*) whom hee had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the 2. who (either by reaſon of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a ſtranger, little know-

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ing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected vpon the death of this *Paus* King. Which was *Anno* 1065. when he had reigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly founded.

King *Edward*, founder of *Weſtminſter* Church.

Harald the ſecond.

AND *Harald*, ſon to the Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title hee might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as deſcenced from that Nation (and, as ſome report, ſon to *Githa*, ſiſter to *Swaine*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot ſay: but it ſeemes, the preſſing neceſsity of the time, that required a more man, to vndergo the burthen of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reaſon of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, caſt it ſuddainly vpon him; as the moſt eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deſeruings, and the ſtrength alſo of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Algith*, ſiſter of *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Yorkeſhire* and *Cheſter*. Neither did hee faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the beſt courſes, both for the well ordering of the State, and all prouiſions for defence, that a politicke and actiue Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all diſioynted, or daſht with the terror of an approaching miſchiefe, failing (as vſually is ſeene in theſe publique feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withſtand it, ſoone found more then enough to doe.

Harald the ſecond.

Anno 1605.

And the firſt man, which began to diſturbe his new gouernment, was his owne yonger brother *Touſtaine*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, hauing the gouernment of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and inhumanities ſhewed in thoſe parts, baniſhed the Kingdome; and now by reaſon of his former conceiued hatred againſt his brother, eaſily ſet on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flanders* (whoſe two daughters the Duke and he had married) aſſailes firſt the Iſle of *Wight*, and after ſets vpon the coaſt of *Kent*, whence he was chaſed by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the Northerne parts; and there ſeeking to land, was likewiſe repulſed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwin*. Then craues he aide of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald*, ſurnamed *Harſager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the Orcades, and exerciſing piracy in thoſe parts; whom he induced with all his forces to inuade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (diſcomfeiting their firſt incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without reſiſtance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puiſſant Army, and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Touſtaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

The Kings brother *Touſtaine* baniſhed

His death with the King of *Norway*.

But from hence was hee called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more fatall buſineſſe in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of England, by the Teſtament of the late King *Edward* his Kinſman; vpon the aduantage of a buſie time, and the diſfurniſhment of thoſe parts) landed at *Pemſey*, not farre from *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*: neere to which place, was tried by the great Aſsize of Gods iudgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the moſt memorable of all other,) and howſoeuer miſerably loſt, yet moſt nobly fought on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there ſlaine, with 60. thouſand 9. hundred 74. of *Engliſh*, ſhew, how much was wrought to haue ſaued their Countrey from the calamity of forraine ſeruitude.

The Battaile was fought in *Suſſex*, 7. miles from *Haſtings*, vpon Saterday the 14. of October, 1066.

The Kings valor and death.

And yet, how ſo great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow bee ſubdued by ſo ſmall a Prouince as *Normandy* (in ſuch ſort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head againſt the Conquerour) might ſeeme ſtrange; did not the circumſtances afore noted, and other concurrent cauſes, hereafter to bee declared, giue vs faire and probable reaſons thereof: Beſides, the indiſpoſition of a diſeaſed time, as it is deſcribed by ſuch as liued neereſt it, may giue vs great euidence in this examination. For they ſay, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their beeing ſecure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace; which had held, in a manner, from

William Malmſbury.

from the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty yeeres;) growne neglectiue of Armes, and generally debaushed with luxurie and idleneſſe: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with a temuluarie learning: The Nobility giuen to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppreſſion: The common ſort to Drunkenneſſe, and all diſorder: And they ſay, that in the laſt action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, the braueſt men periſhed, and himſelfe growing inſolent vpon the victory (retaining the ſpoyles, without diſtribution to his ſouldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall diſcipline) made them diſcontent, & vnruly: and comming to this battell with many mercinary men, and a diſcontented Army, gaue great occaſion to the lamentable loſſe thereof.

William Malmſburie.

Beſides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *Engliſh* (then altogether vnacquainted) were eſpecially ouerthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *Engliſh* (conſiſting of Bils, their chiefe and ancient weapon) held in a body ſo cloſe lockt together, as no force could diſſolue them; till the *Normans* (faining to flie) drew them to a diſordered rout. And ſo they excuſe the fortune of the day.

King *Harold* buried at *Waltham.*

The body of King *Harold*, which at the ſute of his mother (who ſent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to entreate the ſame of the Conqueror) was after much ſearch, amongſt the heapes of the dead found, and interred, in the ſame Abbey, which himſelfe had founded. He was a King, who ſhewes vs nothing but miſerie, reigned leaſt, and loſt moſt of any other.

His Iſſue.

He left foure ſons, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*: the two eldeſt fled away after this battaile into *Ireland*, and from thence made ſome attempts vpon the Weſterne coaſts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about fiue hundred yeeres after the firſt comming in of *Hengiſt*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus haue I in the ſtraighteſt courſe (wherein, that vneuen compaſſe of Antiquity could direct me) got ouer the wide, and intricate paſſage of thoſe times that lay beyond the worke, I purpoſe more particularly to deliuer. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William I.

Anno 1066.

I Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* receiued an alteration of Lawes, Cuſtomes, Faſhion, manner of liuing, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innouation in moſt things, but Religion. So that from this mutation, which was the greateſt it euer had, wee are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, then heretofore: which by beeing thus vndone, was made, as if it were, in the Fate thereof to get more by loſing, then otherwiſe. For as firſt, the Conqueſt of the *Danes*, brought it to the entireſt Gouernment it euer poſſeſt at home, and made it moſt redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: ſo did this of the *Normans* by comming in vpon it, make a way to let out, and ſtretch the mighty armes thereof ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South: For before theſe times, the *Engliſh* Nation, from the firſt eſtabliſhment in this Land, about the ſpace of 500. yeeres, neuer made any ſally out of the Iſle, vpon any other part of the world, but buſied at home in a diuided State, held a broken Gouernment with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it ſeemes, with other Nations, till *Knute* led them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they firſt ſhewed effects of their valour, and what they would be, were they imployed.

Englands territories ouerſhootes the Ocean.

But the *Normans*, hauing more of the Sun, and ciuility (by their commixtion with the *Engliſh*) begat ſmoother faſhions, with quicker motions in them then before. And being a Nation free from that dull diſeaſe of drinke, wherewith their former Conquerors were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and honour. For where as before, the *Engliſh* liued looſe, in little homely Cottages, where they ſpent all their reuenues in good fare, caring for little other

other gaiety at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and ſtately houſes of ſtone, prouide better furniſhments, erect Caſtles, and Towers in other ſort then before. They incloſe Parkes for their priuate pleaſure; being debard the generall liberty of hunting, which heeretofore they enioyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of moſt handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to bee in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* habits, and faſhion of liuing, became generally aſſumed, both in regard of nouelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on, in that change.

And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came ſo altered in the habite of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not ſo much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altred to that of the *Roman* and *French*, now vſed. But to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus ſubdued vs; we muſt take our courſe vp to the head of their originals. The *Normans*, we finde to haue iſſued out of *Norway* and *Denmarke*, and were of like manners, as the reſt of thoſe *Northerne* countries: which by reaſon of the apt mixture of their Phlegmatique and Sanguine complexions, with their promiſcuous ingendring, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that continuall ſurchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themſelues on other Countries, whereſoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, *Roul*, or *Ron*, a great Commander amongſt them, furniſhed a robuſtious power, in the time of King *Alfrid*, and firſt landed in *England* (that euer lay in the Roade to all theſe inuadors) where finding no roome empty, nor any imployment, was content (vpon ſome reliefe receiued) to vſe his forces other-where; which he did againſt *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frize*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont*, and *Hennalt*: with whom he had many violent incounters, and committed great ſpoyles in their Countries. Which done; he paſſed along the coaſt of *France*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and ſackt all the Country vp to *Roan*: where the people hauing beene lately before miſerably afflicted by *Haſting* (another inuador of the ſame Nation) were ſo terrified by the approach of theſe new forces, that the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, by the conſent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition hee would defend them, and miniſter Iuſtice according to the Lawes of Chriſt, and the Cuſtomes of the Countrey. For *Charles* the *Simple*, then King of *France*, yeelding no preſent ſuccour (beeing otherwiſe imbroiled about the right of his Crowne) gaue him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow ſo powerfull, as ſhortly after he attempted the Conqueſt of *Paris*, and gaue many notable defeits to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buye his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Countrey of *Nueſtria* (or *Weſtrich*) which of the *Normans*, was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Chriſtian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, giuen by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes* late King of *France*, who then ſtood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the *Simple*: and is ſaid to haue vnder-aided *Roul* ſecretly, of purpoſe to make him friend his deſignes; though after hee vrged it in an article againſt *Charles*, the giuing away his Country, and the fauouring of ſtrangers.

And thus came *Roul* to eſtabliſh a State to his poſterity, ordering the ſame with that iudgement and equity, as he left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his ſucceſſors a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, deſcended ſixe Dukes of *Normandy*, in the ſpace of 120. yeares: *William* 1. *Richard* 1. *Richard* 2. who had two ſons, *Richard* and *Robert*, that ſucceſſiuely inherited the Dukedome.

Robert, after he had gouerned eight yeares (either meerely for deuotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for ſome ſecret guilt, wherewith his conſcience might ſtand charged, about his brothers death (which becauſe it was vntimely, might be thought vnnaturall) reſolues to viſite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much diſſwaded, in regard hee had no iſſue: and for that (already they ſaid) *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in conteſtation, who ſhould ſucceede him in the Dutchie: ſo that vpon his death, and their

Malmsbury.
Mauricius, Biſhop of *London An. Dom.* 1087. new built the Church of S. *Paule* in *London*, of ſtone brought out of *Normandie*.
The Charter of *William* 1. granted to this Church, ſee the Appendix.
Before this time the Churches were moſt of Timber.
William 1. built the white Tower, afterwards walled and incaſtelled vnder-neath by *William* 2. and *Henry* 1.
The *Saxon* habit, and Characters firſt altered.
The Originall of the *Normans*
Roul, or *Rou*, the firſt *Norman* that landed in *England*
The Hiſtory of *Normand*.
Roul, the firſt Conqueror of *Normandy* from the *French*, calling it *Norman*

their ſtrife, the Country was like, to become a prey to the ſouldier, from which, in conſcience he was bound, by his beſt meanes to ſecure it. The Duke willed them to bee content: I haue (ſaid hee) a little Baſtard, of whoſe worthineſſe I haue great hope, and I doubt not but hee is of my begetting: him I will inueſt in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittaine* (notwithſtanding his competition) to ſhew the affiance I haue in him, I will conſtitute his gouernour, and Seneſchall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* ſhall be his Guardian, and ſo I leaue him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Biſhops and Barons did their homage to his baſe ſonne, named *William*, who was the ſixt Duke of *Normandie* after *Roule*, begotten on *Arlette*, a meane woman of *Falaiſe*. And Duke *Robert* taking his intended iourney, deliuers the Child with his owne hand, to *Henry* the firſt, King of *France*: whom before hee had mainely aided in preſeruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Teſtament) againſt his elder brother, and his mother *Conſtance*, which with a great ſide of Nobility, ſtood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the cuſtome of *France*: And therefore might the more preſume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh ſo much, as their ſelfe-reſpects would not turne the skale) to haue had a faire diſcharge of his truſt: and him for a Protector, whoſe power was beſt able to bee ſo. And cauſing the Childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandy*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and ſhortly after his life, in *Aſia*. Whereupon his ſucceſſor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the miſeries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: beſides the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way, and hindred his ſtanding cleere, ſtood hee neuer ſo hi[illegible].

The Nobles of *Normandy* ſoone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty, got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the hauing him amongſt them, would adde more to his Counſellors, and ſuch as were in office: and the State of a Court, awe his State the better. But ſoone they found, the hauing his perſon (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more diſcord, and faction.

For preſently followed the murthering, and poiſoning of Gouernors, diſplacing of Officers; intruſion, ſupplantation, ſurprizings, and recouerings of his perſon, by a Nobilitie, ſtubborne, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedency or neereneſſe. But this was the leaſt, as beeing done all for his perſon. Now followed more dangerous practiſes againſt him. His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the firſt (though fartheſt off in deſcent) was *Roger de Treſny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*, and much proofe of his owne worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertaining and feaſting the great, and eſpeciall men of worth; hee was growne powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in ſo much that at length, meaſuring his owne height, he vrges, *What wrong it was that a Baſtard, and a Childe, ſhould bee preferred before him, in the ſucceſſion of the Dutchie, his Anceſtors had nobly gotten: and what a ſhame the* Normans *(a people of that worth) would endure to be ſo gouerned; ſeeing they had others of the renowned race of* Roule, William, *and* Richard, *Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him vnworthy to inherite the State.* And beeing impatient (as is ambition that euer rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a ſtrong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumount*, was vtterly deſeited, and himſelfe with his two brethren ſlaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguiſhed, and the reputation of the Duke and his, ſo much aduanced, as the King of *France* (notwithſtanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Caſtle of *Thuilliers*, and demoliſht it, pretending the inſolencies committed there, by the Garriſons, vpon his ſubiects: and makes ſhew as yet, onely to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere hee plainely bewrayed his minde; ayding in perſon *William* Earle of *Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and ſon to *Richard* the Second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Army to ſuccour *Arques*, aſſieged by Conte *Guiffard*, the Dukes Generall; who

(by

(by a ſtratagem ſo trayned the *French* into an ambuſh) as hee ouerthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great loſſe, and diſhonor: leauing *Arques* (the firſt *Arch* of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet ariued to ſeuenteene yeares of age; and the diſcomfeited competitor to ſeeke his fortunes with *Euſtace* Earle of *Bologne*, finding vpon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune euer alters credite, and few regard men ouerthrowne.

This ſtorme ouerpaſt, another ſucceeds more dangerous; there liued with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* ſon to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Borgogne*, and *Alix*, daughter to *Richard* the ſecond; who comming to bee ſenſible of his intereſt, was aduiſed by ſome ſtirring ſpirits, to attempt for the Duchie, which they ſaid appertained to him in right, and was wrongfully vſurped by the Baſtard: And to aduance his purpoſe, there happens deadly hoſtility betweene two of the greateſt Lords of *Normandie* (*Viconte Neele*, and the Earle of *Beſſin*) whoſe debate, Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*, interpoſed himſelfe to compoſe this diſcord; and by the aduice of *Grimoult de Pleſſis* (a principall mouer in this worke) ſo wrought, that either of theſe Lords, turned the point of their malice vpon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neither, made both to hate him; and eaſily conſpire with *Guy* to murther him at vnawares: which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for being held a naturall, they ſuſpected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the gate, till hee was admitted to the Dukes preſence, whom he willed in haſt to flie, or hee would bee murthered. The Duke ſeeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the reporter, but by their likelyhood; and knowing his fortune was liable vnto all ſuddaine aſſaſinations; inſtantly takes horſe and all alone poſtes to *Fallaiſe*, his eſpeciall place of ſtrength: on the way, his horſe being tyred, about breake of daie, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good fortune, the gentleman of the place, was ſtanding at his doore, readie to goe abroad; of whom the Duke enquires the next way to *Fallaiſe*: The Gentleman perceiuing who hee was (though as then very vnwilling to be knowne) humbly craues the cauſe of his ſo ſtrange and vntimely riding alone: The Duke ſeeing himſelfe diſcouered, tells the occaſion: the gentleman (whoſe name was *Robert de Rye*) furniſhes him with a freſh horſe, and ſends two of his ſons to conduct him the neereſt way to *Fallaiſe*: No ſooner was hee gone out of ſight, but after poſt the conſpirators, enquiring of the ſame Gentleman, whether hee ſaw the Duke; who anſwered, that hee was gone a little before, ſuch a way (ſhewing them a diuers path) and rode on with them, offering his ſeruice to Conte *Beſſin*; where they made themſelues ſo powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to craue his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull ſeruice his father had done him: how he was his homager, vnder his tutelary charge, and had no other ſanctuary of ſuccour to flie vnto, in this caſe of his mutinous and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous conſequence to that Crowne. And ſo farre vrged the importancy of reliefe, as the King at length (who ſeemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too ſtrong, and peraduenture rather him then his competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) aided him in perſon with a puiſſant Army againſt theſe competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with as great power and reſolution to bid them battaile, as they to aſſaile them. Here one *Guilleſon*, Vncle to *Viconte Neel* by the mother, forced his horſe into the battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and ſtrake him downe with his Launce: which Conte Saint *Paule* perceiuing, haſtes to incounter him with that violence, as both fell to the earth: but *Guilleſon* ſoone gets vp, and though his horſe was ſlaine vnder him, by *Caſtillon*, he eſcapes out of the preaſſe, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recouered, and more inkindled with this affront, ſpared not his perſon, to auenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewiſe (as it ſtood him moſt vpon) ſhewed effects of an all-daring and magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralfe de Teſſon* bene falſe to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

A Conſpiracie diſcouered ſtrangely.

After which, diuers of the conſpirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) paſſed the mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiſcard* their Countryman (who of a priuate Gentleman, was now by his proweſſe, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, within the ſpace of twelue yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and eſpecially *Guilleſon*, for hauing incountred with a King in the middeſt of his battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what ſtarre theſe *Norman* ſpirits had, as borne for the reuolutions of thoſe times, it ſhall not lie out of our way to ſhew, how they firſt came into *Italie*, vpon this occaſion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Oſmond Drengot*, and *William Repoſtell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the forreſt of *Rouuery* (neere *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* ſlue *Repoſtell*, in his pretence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the ſlaine, fled to *Rome*, and ſo to *Naples*, where hee, with his ſmall company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke *de Beneuento*, to ſerue him againſt the *Saraſins*, and *Affricans*, which miſerably inteſted *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment was no ſooner ſpred in *Normandy*, but diuers valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good fortune, paſſed the Alpes, got to their nation, and ſo wrought, as they grew formidable to theſe *Barbarians*, and in the end, vtterly chaced and extinguiſhed them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, ſeeing themſelues ridde of their enemies, would haue beene glad likewiſe (their turne ſerued) to be rid of their friends, and either vſing them more vnkindely then of cuſtome, or they preſuming more of deſert, turned their ſwords vpon their intertayners. And firſt got a little place, which they fortified for the *Rendeuous*, and receipt of booty: And ſo augmenting ſtill their winnings, obteyned Territories, Cities, and Fortreſſes. After the death of *Drengot*, ſucceeded other gallant leaders, and at length *Tancred*, *Signior de Hauteuille*, in Conſtantine, with his twelue ſons, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third ſon *Robert*, ſurnamed *Guiſcard*, attained the commaund, and was a man of a faire ſtature, cleere iudgement, and indefatigable courage. Hee conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, paſſed the Sea into *Greece*; releeued *Michael Diocriſius*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, deſeited *Nicephorus* that vſurped the Empire, and ſhortly after *Alexius* attempting the like: and in one yeare vanquiſhed two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: ſwayed the whole Eſtate of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to haue attained the Empire of *Conſtantinople* for himſelfe, had hee not died in the expedition.

Beomond his eldeſt ſon, by his firſt wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his ſecond marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) ſucceeded in the States of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and bloud. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a priuate Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a ſucceſſion of Kings, and Princes after him, and died the ſame yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of fortune. And to this man fled all the diſcontented and deſperate *Normans* during theſe ciuill wars the Duke had with ſo many competitors: and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented *Guiſcards* forces in *Italy*; and eſpecially this battaile of *Dunes*; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for *Guy de Burgogne* eſcaping the fight, fortified the Caſtles of *Briorn* and *Vernenille*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himſelfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to ſubmit themſelues; whereby they re-obteyned their ſigniories, but had their Caſtles demoliſhed.

Hauing ended this worke, new occaſion to keepe him in action, was miniſtred by *Geoffry Martle*, Earle of *Anion*, who warring vpon the *Poictouins*, incroached alſo vpon his neighbours States, and vſurped *Alenſon*, *Dampfront*, and *Paſſais*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandy*: which to recouer, the Duke leauies an Army, and firſt got *Alenſon*, where (for that he was opprobriouſly skorned by the beſieged, who, when they ſaw him, would cry *La Pel*, *La Pel*, in reproach of the baſeneſſe of his mother, and the trade of the place of his birth) hee ſhewed extreame cruelty. Then layes he ſiege

to

to *Dampfront*; which to releeue, Conte *Martel* comes with his greateſt forces: and the Duke to take notice of his ſtrength, ſends out *Roger de Mongomery*, with two other Knights to deliuer this meſſage to the Earle, *That if he came to victuall* Dampfront, *he ſhould find him there the Porter to keep him out*: wherto the Earle returnes this anſwere: *Tell the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he ſhall haue me there on a white horſe, ready to giue him the Combate, and I will enter* Dampfront *if I can*; *And to the end he ſhall know me, I will weare a ſhield* d' or, *without any deuiſe.*

Roger replies, *Sir you ſhall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you ſhall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horſe*; *And that you may know him, he ſhall weare on the point of his Launce, a ſtreamer of taffata, to wipe your face.* Herewith returning, each ſide prepares for the morning: when the Earle, buſie in ordering his battailes, was aduertiſed by two horſemen, that came croſſing the field, how *Dampfronte*, for certaine was rendred to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee preſently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in paſſing a ſtreight) cut off, by *Viconte Neel*, who for that ſeruice, redeemed his former offence, and was reſtored to the Dukes fauour, whom euer after hee faithfully ſerued. Thoſe of *Dampfronte*, deſperate of ſuccour, preſently yeeld themſelues to the Duke, who with his engines and forces remooues from thence to *Hambrieres*, a frontier Towne of Conte *Martels*, and by the way (had it not beene by himſelfe diſcouered) hee had beene vtterly ouerthrowne by an ambuſh, which gaue him much to doe, and loſt him verie many braue men. Wherewith hee grew ſo inraged, that hee ruſhed into the troupes of his enemies; made at Conte *Martel*, ſtrake him downe with his ſworde, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet hee eſcaped out of the preaſſe, though diuers were taken, and the *Anionins* vtterly defeited.

Whilſt thus hee was trauailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conſpire againſt him: *William Guelan*, Earle of *Mortague*, deſcended from *Richard* the ſecond: And *William* Earle of *Eu*, and *Montreul*, iſſuing from *William*, the brother of the ſame *Richard*, and of *Eſſelin*, Counteſſe of *Montreul*: the firſt vpon ſuſpition, the other vpon proofe, of an intention, was baniſhed, and their eſtates ſeized: the Earldome of *Mortaigne* he gaue to *Robert*: that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Biſhop of *Bayeux*) both his brethren by the mother. Theſe aſſaults from abroade, theſe skornes, conſpiracies, and vnder-workings at home, he paſſed before hee was full 22 yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that ſought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderſet and ſtrengthen his State, againſt future practiſes, hee conuokes an aſſemblie of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, cauſing them to receiue their oath of Fealtie, and raze their Caſtles; which done, he married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldewin* the fift, Earle of *Flaunders*, but not without contrift and trouble: for his Vncle *Manger*, Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred: ſhe being daughter to *Elinor*, daughter to *Richard* the ſecond, and ſo his fathers ſiſters daughter. To expiate for which offence (vpon a diſpenſation from Pope *Victor*) they were enioyned the building of certaine Hoſpitals for blind people: and two Abbeyes, the one for men, the other for women: which were erected at *Caen*.

The Duke marries *Matilde* daughter of *Baldouine* the fift, Earle of *Flaunders*.

This match, and the ouer-matching his enemies, ſet him ſo high a marke of enuy in the eye of *France*, which naturally loued not the *Normans* (whom in reproach they vſually called *Trewans*) as they eaſily incenſed their King, who of himſelfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne ſo out of proportion with the reſt of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell (which conſiners eaſily doe) to ſet vpon him: and to make it looke the fairer, pretends to correct the inſolencies of the *Normans* committed on his territories, and to releeue Count *Martel*, oppreſt by the Duke; beſides alleadging, *It concerned him in honour and iuſtice, to haue that Prouince, which held of his Crowne, to bee gouerned by a Prince of lawfull blond, according to Chriſtian order and Lawes Eccleſiaſticall*: And therefore reſolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and eſtabliſh a legittimate Prince in the Dutchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one ſent

The reaſons why the King of France, warres with the *Normans*.

along the riuer *Seine*, the other into the Country of *Beſſin*, as meaning to incompaſſe him.

The Duke likewiſe deuides his forces into two parts: ſends his brother *Odo*, Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earle of *Longueuill*, and others with the one, to the Country of *Caux*; himſelfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Mante*) and withdrawes all cattle and prouiſions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortreſſes, for their owne ſtore, and diſfurniſhment of the enemie. The Kings army marching from *Beauuois*, to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Country full of all prouiſions, betooke them to make good cheere, and reſts there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which, the army in *Caux*, conducted by *Otho* vnderſtanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gaue them ſo hot an alarme, and ſo ſodaine, as put them all in rout, leauing horſe, and armour, and all to the aſſaylants; who made ſuch a deſtruction of them, that of forty thouſand, not the fourth part eſcaped.

The deſeiture of the Armie of the King of *France*, by the *Normans*.

With this deſeiture, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the priſoners, recouers his peace, and the Caſtle of *Thuilliers*, taken from him in his vnder-age. Cont *Martell* though much diſmayd with the Kings ouerthrow, yet leaues not to make ſome attempts for the recouering his Townes; but with no ſucceſſe. The Duke he ſaw was too well beloued and followed, for him to doe any good without a ſtronger arme: Wherefore the next Spring, he goes againe to importune the King of *France*, to aide him againſt the Duke: who (he ſaid) *Was now growne ſo inſolent vpon this peace, and the victory he had ſtolne, and not wonne, that there was no liuing for his neighbours neere him*: Beſides, the *Normans* had the *French* in ſuch deriſion, and baſe eſteeme, as they made their act (at *Mortimer*) their onely ſport, and the ſubiect of their rimes: as if a King of *France*, vpon the loſſe of a few men, was retired, and durſt not breake a diſhonourable peace.

With which inſtigation, and being ſtung with the touch of reproach, hee raiſes another Army far mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithſtanding the ſollemne peace made, and ſo lately ſworne with the Duke, hee enters *Normandy* in the harueſt time, ouer-runnes and ſpoiles all the Country, along the Coaſt to *Beſſin*: from whence marching to *Bayeux*, and *Caen*, with purpoſe to paſſe the riuer *Dine* at *Varneuille*, to deſtroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Liſieux*, and *Roumoys*, euen to *Roan*: and finding the caſe-way long, and the bridge narrow, cauſed his vantguard to paſſe ouer firſt: and, to ſecure his *Arierguard*, conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himſelfe ſtayes behind in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were paſſed. Duke *William* (who all this while, ſtores his fortreſſes with men and victual) makes himſelfe as ſtrong in the Towne of *Fallaiſe*, as he could; hath no army in the field, but a running campe to be ready to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the ſtorme ſpend it ſelfe, and hauing aduertiſement of this paſſage, marched all night with 10 thouſand men, and in the morning early, ſets vpon the *Arierguard*, with ſo ſodaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the Caſe-way hearing this noiſe behind, thruſt forward their fellowes, haſting to get ouer the bridge, with ſuch a crowd and preſſe, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the riuer. They who were gotten ouer, could not returne to aide the reſt; nor the King (by reaſon of Mariſhes on both ſides) yeeld any ſuccour to his people; but ſtood a ſpectator of their ſlaughter, and the taking of ſixe of his Earles, of whom one was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (fauouring his great worth) had made Conte *De Soiſſons*.

The Armie of the King of *France* ouerthrowne at *Varneuille* by the *Normans*.

The griefe of this ouerthrow, ſhortly after gaue the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a ioyfull peace, which he nobly imployed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monaſteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furniſh his Abbeyes at *Caen* (where he alſo erected a Tombe for himſelfe and his wife) feaſting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he ſo poſſeſt him of the hearts of all his people generally, as they were entirely his, for what he would.

The Duke comes to viſit his kinſman.

During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourney ouer into *England*, as if to viſite King *Edward* his kinſman: who, in regard of the preſeruation, and breeding he had in

in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him moſt Royall entertainement: And here he ſhewed himſelfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enterview he diſcouered *England*, being to be preſuppoſed, he came not to gather cockle-ſhels, on the ſhore. Nor was it long after ere *Harald* (whether of purpoſe to ratifie ſome paction cloſely contriued betwixt them: or by caſualty of weather driuen into *France*, (and ſo faine to make it ſeeme a iourney of purpoſe to the Duke, is not certainely deliuered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, preſented with all ſhewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewiſe feaſted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, ſomething was concluded, either in likelyhood to deuide the Kingdome betweene them, or that *Harold* being a coaſtdweller, and had the ſtrongeſt hand in the State, ſhould let in the Duke, and do his beſt to helpe him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatneſſe, or what ſoeuer it was; promiſes were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangeliſts, and all the ſacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the preſence of diuers great perſons. Beſides for more aſſurance, *Harold* was fyanced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Wolnot*, left a pledge for the performance.

Harold goeth ouer into *Normandy*.

His entertainment.

His promiſes to the Duke.

This intercourſe made the tranſ-action of the fate of *England*, and ſo much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neithers act, if any ſuch were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the courſe of a right ſucceſſion) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Teſtament, which being againſt the Law and Cuſtome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a ſucceſſion by remotion (which is a ſucceeding to anothers place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the ſame by any diſpoſitiue and teſtamentary will, the right deſcending to the next of bloud, onely by the Cuſtome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Succeſſour is not ſayd properly to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him ſo, and cannot bee put from it by any act of his Predeceſſour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwiſe. For as ſoone as hee had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harald* (for they came both together) he aſſembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, *Soliciting an extention of their vtmoſt meanes for his recouery thereof, and auengement of the periured Vſurper* Harald; *ſhewing them apparant probability of ſucceſſe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his ſtrong party therein, with the debility and diſtraction of the people; What glory, wealth, and greatneſſe, it would adde to their Nation, the obtayning of ſuch a Kingdome, as was thus opportunely layd open for them, if they apprehended the preſent occaſion.* All which remonſtrances notwithſtanding, could endue but very few to like of this attempt, and thoſe ſuch who had long followed him in the warres, exhauſted their eſtates, and content to runne vpon any aduenture that might promiſe likelyhood of aduancement. The reſt were of diuers opinions: ſome, that it was ſufficient to hold and defend their owne Country; without hazarding themſelues, to conquer others; and theſe were men of the beſt ability: others were content to contribute, but ſo ſparingly, as would little aduance the buſineſſe: and for the moſt part they were ſo tyred with the former warres, and ſo deſirous to embrace the bleſſing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergoe a certaine trouble for an vncertaine good. And with theſe oppoſitions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpoſe, at firſt, had ſo little way, as did much perplex him: At length, ſeeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: hee deales with his neereſt and moſt truſty friends in particular, being ſuch as he knew affected the glory of action, and would aduenture their whole eſtates with him. As *William fitz. Auber*, *Conte de Brettenile*, *Gualter Guifford* Earle of *Longueville*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, eſpecially his owne brothers, *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*: theſe in full aſſembly he wrought to make their offers: which they did in ſo large a proportion; and eſpecially *William fitz. Auber* (who made the firſt offer, to furniſh forty ſhips with men and munition; the Biſhop of *Bayeux* forty, the Biſhop of *Mans* thirty, and ſo others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the reſt of the aſſemblie, doubting if the action ſucceeded

The Dukes ſpeech to the aſſembly of the States of *Normandy*.

The ſubtill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

without their helpe (the Duke arryuing to that greatneſſe) would beare in minde, what little minde they ſhewed to aduance his deſires, beganne to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeelding, though not in ſuch ſort as was requiſite for ſuch a worke; dealt with the Biſhops and great men apart, ſo effectually, as at length hee gotte of them ſeuerally, which of altogether hee could neuer haue compaſſed; and cauſing each mans contribution to bee regiſtred, inkindled ſuch an emulation amongſt them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now ſtriued who ſhould doe moſt.

The French likewiſe ayde the Duke.

And not onely wan hee the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perſwaſions and large promiſes, moſt of the greateſt Princes and Nobles of *France*, to aduenture their perſons, and much of their eſtate with him; as *Robert fitz. Harnays*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*; *Neuers*, *Hieſms*, *Aumal*; *Le Signior de Tours*, and euen his mortall enemy *Martel*, Earle of *Anion*, became to bee as forward as any. All which, hee ſure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatneſſe gained a wide opinion and reputation amongſt them. Although in theſe aduancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of diſpoſitions, and a conſtitution of times prepared for it: yet is it ſtrange, that ſo many mighty men of the *French* Nation, would aduenture their liues & fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more then *France*, and ſo great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are deſtined, the counſels of men muſt bee corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to ſerue that buſineſſe.

The reaſon of the Dukes power.

The King of *France*, who ſhould haue ſtrangled this diſſeigne in the birth, was a child, and vnder the curature of *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whoſe daughter the Duke had married, and was ſure to haue rather furtherance then any oppoſition that way: Beſides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promiſed faithfully, if hee conquered this Kingdome; to hold it of that King, as he did the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and do him homage for the ſame; which would adde a great glory to that Crowne. Then was he before hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promiſing likewiſe to hold it of the Apoſtolique Sea, if he preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope ſent him a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Henry* 4. ſent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: ſo that we ſee it was not *Normandy* alone that ſubdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aydes of other Princes. And by theſe meanes, made he good his vndertaking; and within eight monethes was readie furniſhed with a powerfull Army at Saint *Valery* in *Normandy*, whence hee tranſported the ſame into *England* in 896 ſhippes, as ſome write. And this was the man, and thus made to ſubdue *England*.

1066. *Anno Reg.* I.

And now hauing gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at *Haſtings*, the foureteenth of October 1066. hee marched without any oppoſition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Mercland* (brothers of eminent dignitie and reſpect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to ſtirre the hearts of the people for the conſeruation of the State, and eſtabliſhing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall iſſue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobilitie had likewiſe conſented; had they not ſeene the Biſhops auerſe or wauering. For, as then, to the Clergie, any King (ſo a Chriſtian) was all one: they had their Prouince apart, deuided from ſecular domination: and of a Prince (though a ſtranger) who had taken vp ſo much of the world before hand, vpon credite and fame of his piety and bounty, they could not but preſume well for their eſtate: and ſo were content to giue way to the preſent Fortune.

Reaſon for the yeelding of the Clergie.

The Nobility, conſidering they were ſo borne, and muſt haue a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himſelfe) would ſhew more of paſſion then prouidence: & to be now behind hand to receiue him, with more then ſubmiſſion, was as if to withſtand: which (with the diſtruſt of each others faith) made them ſtriue & run headlong

What moued the Nobles to yeeld.

who

who ſhould be firſt to pre-occupate the grace of ſeruitude, and intrude them into forraine ſubiection.

The Commons (like a ſtrong veſſell that might haue beene for good vſe) were hereby left, without a ſterne, and could not moue but irregularly. So that all eſtates in generall, either corrupted with new hopes, or tranſported with feare, forſooke themſelues, and their diſtreſſed Countrey. Vpon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all ſet open: the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Biſhops, the Nobility, Magiſtrates, and People, rendring themſelues in all obedience vnto him: and hee returning plauſible proteſtation of his future Gouernment, was on *Chriſtmas* day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, by *Aldred*, Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically inueſted in his Sea: and yet thought to haue beene a forward mouer of this alteration.

The Coronation and Oath of *William* 1.

Heere, according to the accuſtomed forme, at his Coronation, the Biſhops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall ſubiects, and hee reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*) made his perſonall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, *To defend the Holy Churches of God, and the Rectors of the ſame: To gouerne the Vniuerſall People, ſubiect vnto him, iuſtly: To eſtabliſh equall Lawes, and to ſee them duely executed.* Nor did he euer claime any power by Conqueſt, but as a regular Prince, ſubmitted himſelfe to the orders of the Kingdome: deſirous rather to haue his Teſtamentary title (howſoeuer weake) to make good his ſucceſſion, rather then his ſword. And though the ſtile of *Conqueror* by the flattery of the time, was after giuen him; he ſhewed by all the courſe of his gouernment he aſſumed it not: introducing none of all thoſe alterations (which followed) by violence, but a milde gathering vpon the diſpoſition of the State, and the occaſions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hoſtages for his more ſecurity, and order for the defence and gouernment of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, he returnes into *Normandy*, ſo to ſettle his affaires there, as they might not diſtract him from his buſineſſe in *England*, that required his whole powers.

King *Williams* ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Kingdome of *England*.

And to leaue here all ſure behind him, he commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and to his Coſin *Fitz* * *Auber*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*; taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likeſt to be heads to a reuolt: As *Edgar Atheling*, the Archbiſhop *Stigand*, lately diſcontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Biſhops and Noble men: Beſides, to vnburthen his charge, and diſ-impeſter his Court; he tooke backe with him all the *French* Aduenturers, and ſuch as were vnneceſſary men, rewarding them as farre as his treaſure would extend, and the reſt he made vp in faire promiſes.

* Or *Os vne.*

King *William* returnes into *Normandy* with the chiefe Nobility of *England*.

In his abſence, which was all that whole Summer, nothing was here attempted againſt him, but onely that *Edric*, ſurnamed the *Forreſter*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welſh*, to his ayde, and forraged onely the remote borders of that Country. The reſt of the Kingdome ſtood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the ſame they were before, and might hope by this acceſſion of a new Prouince; the State of *England* would be but inlarged in dominion abroad, and not impaired in profit at home, by reaſon the Nation was but ſmall, and of a plentifull, and not ouer-peopled Countrey, likely to impeſter them.

King *William* returnes into *England*.

Hauing diſpoſed his affaires of *Normandy*, he returnes towards winter, into *England*, where he was to ſatisfie three ſorts of men; *Firſt, ſuch Aduenturers, with whom he had not yet cleered: Secondly, thoſe of his owne people, whoſe merits or neereneſſe, looked for recompence, whereof the number being ſo great, many muſt haue their expectation fed, if not ſatisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom he muſt now ſubſiſt:* For being not able with his owne Nation ſo to impeople the ſame, as to hold and defend it (if hee ſhould proceed to an extirpation of the naturall inhabitants) he was likewiſe to giue them ſatisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to do, then in his battell at *Haſtings*; ſeeing all remunerations, with ſupplies of money, muſt be raiſed out of the ſtocke of this Kingdome, which could not

not but be irkesome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grieuances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselues out, by reuolting, after his establishment, and their fealty giuen; as appeares by the controuersie betweene *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn* Castle in *Norfolke*, which castle thogh the King had giuen to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburn* alledged, *How he neuer bare Armes against him: that hee was his subiect as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subiects*, the King gaue iudgement against *Warren*, and commanded, that *Sherburn* should hold his Land in peace, So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found here ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battaile; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into abbeyes, there to liue till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abbey of *Ely*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants & suitors at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuaile with the people.

Cambden Norf.

M. S.

1067. *Anno Reg.* 2.

But the English Nobility, incompatible of these new concurrents; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefest, doubting to be more impayred in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to trie if by ayd from abroad, they might recouer themselues, and their lost fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling* (termed *Englands Dearling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retire into *Hungary* (their native Countrey) were driuen by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses; and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house beeing thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommer, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossest of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; And to inchaine it the stronger, he takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar* (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the bloud of our ancient Kings was preserued, and conioyned with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repayred the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Siward*, with others: and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred*, Arch-bishops, with diuers of the Clergie: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most egarly to recouer their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the setling of the gouernment, whilst it was new, and branling, they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more then hee was: For all conspiracies of subiects, if they succeed not, aduance the soueraignty: and nothing gaue roote to the *Norman* planting heere, more then the petty reuolts made by dissicattered troupes, in seuerall parts, begunne without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recouery, but by a generall subleuation of the people: for which all wary preuention was vsed; and they had waites enough laid on, to hold them downe. And though these Lords imbroiled themselues, and held him doing in the North, yet hee hauing all the South parts setled vnder his dominion, with well practised and prepared forces, there could bee little hope of good, whilst al their great Estates furnisht the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which *Edwin* helde in *Yorkeshire*, were giuen to *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaigne*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-bishopricke on *Canterbury*, confer'd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*: That of *Yorke*, on

The *English* Nobility forsake the Kingdome.

1068. *Anno Reg.* 3.

The King of *Scots* enters league with the *English* Nobility and married *Edgars* sister.

See the Charter in the Appendix.

on *Thomas* his Chaplain, and al the reſt both of the Clergy and others, which were out, had their places within, ſupplied by *Normans*.

And after King *William* had appeaſed a Commotion in the Weſt, which the ſons of *Harald*, with forces out of *Ireland* had raiſed, & alſo repreſſed the rebellion of *Exceſter*, and *Oxford*, he takes his iourney in perſon Northward with all expedition (leſt the enemy there, ſhould grow too high in heart and opinion, vpon the great ſlaughter of his people, made at *Yorke*; and the defeiture of his Brother and Lieutenant, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*, ſlaine with ſeuen hundred *Normans* at *Durham*:) where, at his firſt comming he ſo wrought, that hee either diſcomfeited, or corrupted the Generalls of the *Danicque* forces (newely arriued to ayde the Lords, ſent by *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, vnder the conduct of his two ſons, *Harald* and *Knute*, with a Nauy of three hundred ſayle:) and after ſets vpon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in ſtrength and hope, by this departure of their Confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, he vtterly waſted, and laid deſolate, all that goodly Countrey betweene *Yorke* and *Durham*, the ſpace of 60. miles, as it might be no more a ſuccour to the enemy: And the like courſe he vſed on all the Coaſts where any apt landings lay for inuaſions; and ſo returnes to *London*.

Moſt of the Lords after this defeit, came in, vpon publique faith giuen them, and were conducted to *Barkhamſted*, by the Abbot *Fredricke*; where, vpon their ſubmiſsion and Oath of Allegeance re-taken, they had their pardon, and reſtitution of grace graunted by the King, who it ſeemes was ſo willing to acquiet them, that againe he takes his perſonall Oath before the Archbiſhop *Lanfranke*, and the Lords, *To obſerue the ancient Lawes of the Realme, eſtabliſhed by his Noble Predeceſſors, the Kings of England, and eſpecially thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor*. Whereupon theſe ſtormy diſpoſitions held calme a while. See the Appendix.

But long it was not ere many of theſe Lords (whether vpon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince *Edgar* (who was ſtill in *Scotland*,) or growne deſperate of new diſpleaſures, at home, finding ſmall performance of promiſes made, rupture of Oath, and all other reſpects, brake out againe. The Earle *Edwyn*, making towards *Scotland*, was murthered by his owne people. The Lords, *Morchar* and *Hereward*, betooke them to the Iſle of *Ely*, meaning to make good that place for that Winter; whither alſo repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no time-giuer vnto growing dangers, beſers all the Iſle with flat boates on the Eaſt, and made a bridge of two miles long on the Weſt, and ſafely brought in his people vpon the enemy, who ſeeing themſelues ſurprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who deſperatly marched with his people throgh the Fennes; and recouered *Scotland*: The reſt were ſent to diuers priſons, where they died, or remained during the Kings life. 1074. *Anno Reg.* 8.

Thoſe Lords who perſiſted loyall vpon this laſt ſubmiſsion, were all imployed and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the Forreſter (and firſt that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleere truſt, and neere about him. *Goſpatrice* he made Earle of *Northumberland*, and ſent him againſt *Malcolin*, who in this time, ſubdues the Countries of *Tiſdall*, *Cleueland*, and *Cumberland*: *Waltheof*, ſon to the Earle *Syward*, he held ſo worthy to be made his, as he married him to his Neece *Iudith*, though he had beene a principall actor in the Northerne commotion (and in defending the City of *Yorke* againſt him, is ſaid to haue ſtriken off the heads of diuers *Normans*, one by one, as they entered a breach, to the admiration of all about him) ſhewing therein that true touch of the nobleſt nature, to loue vertue, euen in his enemies.

And now ſeeing *Scotland* to be the eſpeciall retraite for all conſpirators, and diſcontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall ſuccour, and aſsiſtance, and where his competitor *Edgar* liued, to beget and nurſe perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all aduantages; hee enters that Kingdome with a puiſſant Army: which, incountring with more neceſsities then forces, ſoone grew tyred, and both Kings, conſidering of what difficulties the victory would conſiſt, were willing to take the ſafeſt way to their ends, and vpon faire ouertures, to conclude a peece; Articling

Atticling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the ſame title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Heere with the vniuerſall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to haue likewiſe had a ſhare; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally ſpoken; ſo in that of *Scotland* did the Engliſh, by reaſon of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and dayly repairing thither for their ſafety, and combination againſt the common enemy: of whom diuers, abandoning their natiue diſtreſſed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred: and there planted, ſpread their off-ſpring into many noble families, remaining to this day: The titles for diſtinguiſhing degrees of honor; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider, or Knight, were then (as is thought) firſt introduced: and the nobler ſort began to bee called by the title of their *Signories* (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the faſhion of *Ireland*. Other innouations, no doubt, entred there likewiſe at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: faſhion and imitation like weedes eaſily growing in euery ſoyle.

Scotland before this time generally ſpake a kind of *Iriſh*.

Titles of honour in *Scotland*.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the King, being then in *Normandy*, and was reſtored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the fortune of the King, howſoeuer for his owne, being thought to haue ill-timed his affaires (either through want of ſeaſonable intelligence, or deſpaire of ſucceſſe) in making too ſoone that ſubmiſſion, which was later or neuer to be done. For in this abſence of the King, *Roger Fitz Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expreſſe commandement, gaue his ſiſter in marriage to *Raph Waher*, Earle of *Northfolke*, and *Suffolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conſpired with *Euſtace* Earle of *Bologne* (who ſecretly came ouer to this feſtiuall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *Engliſh* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and diſpoſſeſſe the King. Who hauing thus paſſed ouer ſo many gulfes of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wracke ſo neere home; and that thoſe, whom hee had moſt aduanced, ſhould haue the eſpeciall hand in his deſtruction: But no rewards are benefits (that are not held ſo,) nor can euer cleere the accounts with them that ouervalue their merits. And had not this conſpiracie beene opportunely diſcouered (which ſome ſay, was by the Earle *Waltheof*, moued with the vglineſſe of ſo foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But now the fire bewrayed before it flamed, was ſoone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vice-gerent, the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and others, who kept the Conſpirators from ioyning their forces: So that they neuer came to make head, but were either ſurprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fitz Auber* was taken, and ſome ſay, executed; and ſo was ſhortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whoſe diſſent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former conſent, though much compaſsion in reſpect of his great worthineſſe. But the wide diſtent of theſe tumors, fed from many ſecret veines, ſeemed to be of that danger, as required this extremity of cure, eſpecially in a part ſo apt for infection, vpon any the like humours.

Edgar Atheling ſubmitted him ſelfe to King *William*.

1175. *Anno Reg.* 9.

1176. *Anno Reg.* 10.

1177. *Anno Reg.* 11.

For this Conſpiracy ſeemes to take motion from a generall league of all the neighbour Princes, here about, as may well be gathered be their ſeuerall actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Britaigne* (a Caſtle of *Raph de Waher*) againſt the King of *England*, and in likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Bologne* towards the Conſpirators: In *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, by ſending a Nauy of two hundred ſaile, vnder the conduct of his ſon *Knute*, and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furniſhing the ſons of *Harald* with 60. ſhips. In *Malcoline*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readineſſe to aſſiſt. But the *Danes* being on the coaſt, and hearing how their confederates had ſped, with the great preparations the King had made, after ſome pillage taken vpon the coaſt of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and neuer after arriued to diſturbe this Land. Though in *Anno Reg.* 19. *Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repaire the diſhonour of his two laſt aduentures paſt)

and

and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his predeceſſors had holden, prepared a Nauy of a thouſand ſaile, and was aided with ſixe hundred more by *Robert le Friſon* Earle of *Flanders* (whoſe daughter he had married.) But the winds held ſo contrary for two yeeres together, as vtterly quaſht that enterprize; and freed the King, and his ſucceſſors for euer after, from future moleſtation that way.

But this buſineſſe put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining all that time (beſides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *Engliſh* (in reſpect of many great families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, then the *Norman*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually paſſing betweene them.

1078. *Anno Reg.* 12.

And theſe were all the warres he had within the Kingdome, ſauing in *An. Regni* 13. he ſubdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there, to doe him homage, His warres abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, firſt raiſed by his owne ſon *Robert*, left Lieutenant gouernor of the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and the Countie of *Mayne*, who in his fathers abſence, taſting the glory of command, grew to aſſume the abſolute rule of the Prouince, cauſing the Barons there, to doe him homage (as Duke) not as Lieutenant, and leagues him with the King of *France*, who working vpon the eaſineſſe of his youth, and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occaſion to diſioynt his Eſtate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuſe largeſſe, and diſorderly expence, whereto *Robert* was addicted, is nouriſhed by all wayes poſſible, as the meanes to imbarke him in thoſe difficulties of ſtill getting mony, that could not but needs yeeld continuall occaſion to entertain both his own diſcontent & theirs, from whom his ſupplies muſt be raiſed. And though thereby he purchaſed him the title of *Courtois*, yet he loſt the opinion of good gouernment, and conſtrained the Eſtates of *Normandy*, to complaine to his father of the great concuſſion, and violent exactions he vſed amongſt them.

1079. *Anno Reg.* 13.

The Kings of *Wales* doe homage to King *William*.

Robert of Normandy titl'd *Courtois*.

The King vnderſtanding the fire thus kindled in his owne houſe, that had ſet others all in combuſtion, haſtes with forces into *Normandy*, to haue ſurprized his ſon; who aduertized of his comming, furniſht with two thouſand men at Armes, by the King of *France*, lay in ambuſh where he ſhould paſſe; ſets vpon him, defeited moſt of his people, and in the purſuite happened to incounter with himſelfe, whom hee vnhorſed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiuing by his voyce, it was his father, he haſted to remount him, humbly crauing pardon for his offence: which the father (ſeeing in what caſe he was) granted, howſoeuer he gaue; and vpon his ſubmiſſion, tooke him with him to *Rouen*; whence, after cured of his hurt, hee returned with his ſon *William* (likewiſe wounded in the fight) into *England*.

1080. *Anno Reg.* 14.

Robert rebels againſt his father.

Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his ſons remutyning, and how hee exacted vpon the *Normans*, vſurpt the intire gouernment, and vrged his fathers promiſe thereof, made him before the King of *France*, vpon his *Conqueſt of England:* which cauſed his little ſtay here, but to make preparations for his returne into thoſe parts: whither in paſſing he was driuen on the Coaſt of *Spaine*, but at length arriuing at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations, his ſon *Robert* came in, and ſubmitted himſelfe the ſecond time: whom he now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imploying him in the hard and neceſſitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace beeing betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after ſent him backe, and his yong ſon *Henry*, with the aſſociation of charge and like power (but of more truſt) to the gouernment of *Normandy*.

1081. *Anno Reg.* 15.

1082. *Anno Reg.* 16.

Louis and *Henry*, ſons of the kings of *France* and *England*.

After the two Princes had beene there a while, they went to viſite the King of *France* at *Conſtance*, where feaſting certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, *Henry* wan ſo much at Cheſſe of *Louis*, the Kings eldeſt ſon, as hee growing into Choller, called him the ſonne of a Baſtard, and threw the Cheſſe in his face. *Henry* takes vp the Cheſſe-boord, and ſtrake *Louis* with that force, as drew bloud, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interpoſed himſelfe: Whereupon they ſuddenly tooke horſe, and with much adoe they recouered *Pontoiſe*, from the Kings people that purſued them. This quarrell ariſing, vpon the inter-meeting of theſe Princes (a thing that ſeldome breeds good bloud amongſt them) re-enkindled a heate

1026. *Anno Reg.* 20.

a heate of more rancor in the fathers, and began the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert*, (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. The King of *England* inuades *France*, subdues the Country of *Zaintonge* and *Poicton*, and returnes to *Rouen*, where the third time, his son *Robert* is reconciled vnto him, which much disappoints and vexes the King of *France*, who thereupon, summons the King of *England*, to doe him homage for the Kingdome of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying, *Hee had it of none but God and his sword*. For the Dutchy of *Normandy* hee offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing would, but what he could not haue, the Masterie: and seekes to make any occasion the motiue of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer then King *William* had recouered a sickneſſe, whereinto (through his late trauell, age, and corpulency) hee was falne: at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, iesting at his great belly, wherof he said, he lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as being recouered, he gathers al his best forces, enters *France* in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came euen before *Paris*; where the King of *France* then was; to whō he sends, to shew him of his vp-sitting, and from thence marches to the City of *Mants*, which hee vtterly sackt, and in the destruction thereof, gate his owne, by the straine of his horse, among the breaches, and was thence conueyed sicke to *Rouen*, and so ended his warres.

King *William* denies to doe homage for *England*, to the King of *France*.

1089. *Anno Reg.* 21.

Now for his gouernment in peace, and the course hee held in establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after he had repreſt the conspiracies in the North, and well quieted all other parts of the State (which now beeing absolutely his, hee would haue to bee ruled by his owne Law) hee beganne to gouerne all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreeued Lords, and sadde people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Beseeching him in regard of his Oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint* Edward, *from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdome; vnder whose Lawes they were borne and bred; That he would not adde that misery, to deliuer them vp to bee iudged by a strange Law they vnderstood not*. And so earnestly they wrought, that he was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which hee had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gaue commandement to his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of Saint *Edward* (so called, not that hee made them, but collected them out of *Merchen*-Law, *Dane*-Law, and *Westsex*-Law) *to be inuiolably obserued throughout the Kingdome*. And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second and King *Iohn*, to the same effect; there followed a great innouation both in the Lawes and gouernment of *England*, So that this seemes rather done to acquiet the people, with a shew of the continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, then that they enioyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed vpon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veynes issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame of our Common-law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all obiections can bee made to the contrary. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no vniuersall Law of the Kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne Customes: all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* vsed the *Danique* Law: *Merchland*, the middle part of the Country, and the State of the West *Saxons*, had their seuerall constitutions, as beeing seuerall Dominions: and though for some few yeeres there seemed to be a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as we may see in the succession of that broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order currant ouer all: but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersality of *Meum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rights of nations, and that *ius innatum*, the Common law of al the world, which we see to be as vniuersal, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men,

Hisgouernmēt in peace.

What were the Lawes of *England*.

The originall of the Common Law now vsed.

and

and ſerues the turne to hold them together in all Countries; howſoeuer they may differ in their formes. So that by theſe paſſages, we ſee what way wee came, where wee are, and the furtheſt end wee can diſcouer of the originall of our Common-law; and to ſtriue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine vaſtneſſe, beyond our diſcerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Cuſtomes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approue their gentility; ſeeing it is the equity, and not the antiquity of lawes, that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the profeſſors thereof, the profeſſion honored. And it were well with mankind, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that prouidence, as they were inſtituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England* bred moſt heauie doleances, not onely in this Kings time, but long after: For whereas before, thoſe Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they tranſlated into *Latine* and *French*, and practized wholly in the *Norman* forme and Language; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that ſpeech for their owne need, which otherwiſe they would not doe; And ſeeing a difference in tongue, would continue a difference in affections; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to do, without the extirpation, or ouerlaying the Land-bred people; who being ſo far in number (as they were) aboue the inuadors; both retaine the maine of the Language, and in few yeares, haue thoſe who ſubdued them, vndiſtinguiſhably theirs. For notwithſtanding the former Conqueſt by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the ſolid body of the Kingdome, ſtill conſiſted of the *Engliſh*) and the acceſſion of ſtrange people, was but as riuers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured what hee could to turne all to *French*, *By enioyning their children here to vſe no other Language, with their* Grammer *in ſchooles, to haue the Lawes practized in* French, *all petitions and buſineſſe of Court in* French, *Norman graced but he that ſpake* French, yet ſoone after his dayes, all returnes naturall Engliſh againe (but Law) and that ſtill held forraine, and became in the end wholly to be incloſed in that language: nor haue wee now, other marke of our ſubiection and intruſallage from *Normandy*, but onely that, and that ſtill ſpeake *French* to vs in *England*.

The Law of England put into a forraine Language.

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Conſtitutions, new Formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Norman*: a people more inured to litigation, and of ſpirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the *Engliſh*: who (by reaſon of their continuall warres, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at vnity in their priuate: and that ſmall time of peace they had, Deuotion, and good fellowſhip entertained. For their Lawes and conſtitutions before, we ſee them plaine, briefe, and ſimple, without perplexities, hauing neither fold nor pleite, commanding, not diſputing: Their grants and tranſactions as briefe and ſimple, which ſhewed them a cleere meaning people, retayning ſtill the nature of that plaine realneſſe they brought with them, vncompoſed of other fiction then their owne, and vnaffecting imitation.

Vide Append.

And for their tryals (in caſes criminall) where manifeſt proofe failed, they continued the ancient cuſtome held from before their Chriſtianity (vntill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*; Or (ſignifying) Right, Deale, Part, *whereof (they had theſe kinds: Ordeal by fire, which was for the better ſort, and by water for the inferiour. That of Fire, was to go blindfold ouer certaine plough ſhares red hot, and laide an vneuen diſtance one from another. That of Water was either of hot, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to be caſt headlong.* According to their eſcapes or hurts, they were adiudged: *Such as were caſt into the riuer, if they ſanke were held guiltleſſe, if not, eſpecially ſcorched by that Element.* These trials they called *the Iudgements of God, and they were performed with ſolemne Orations.* In ſome caſes *The accuſed was admitted to cleare himſelfe by receiuing the Euchariſt, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three*; but this was for ſpeciall perſons, and ſuch, whoſe liuings were of a rate allowable for credit: the vſuall opinion perſwading them, that men of abilitie held a more regard to honeſty.

The Engliſh trials in caſes criminall.

Men of abilitie cleered by their oathes.

With theſe, they had *the triall of Campeſight, or ſingle combat* (which likewiſe the *Lumbards*, originally of the ſame *German* Nation, brought into *Italy*) *permitted by the Law, in caſes either of ſafety, and fame, or of poſſeſſions.* All which trials, ſhew them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; Nor would they bee induced to forgo theſe Cuſtomes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificiall Conſtitutions, no more then would the *Lumbards* forſake their duellary Lawes in *Italy*, which their Princes (againſt ſome of their wils) were conſtrained to ratifie, as *Luytprandus*, their King, thus ingeniouſly confeſſes: *We are vncertaine of the iudgement of God, and we haue heard many by fight, to haue loſt their cauſe, without iuſt cauſe; yet in reſpect of the cuſtome of our Nation, we cannot auoide an impious Law.* But all theſe formes of iudgements, and trials, had their ſeaſons; Thoſe of Fire, and Water, in ſhort time after the Conqueſt, grew diſuſed, and in the end vtterly abrogated by the Pope; as deriued from Paganiſme; That of combate continues longer-liued, but of no ordinary vſe: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to bee wholly adiudged by the verdict of twelue men, according to the cuſtome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is vſed, and called by the name of *Enqueſt*, with the ſame cautions for the Iurors, as it is here continued to this day. Although ſome hold opinion, that this forme of triall, was of vſe in this Kingdome from all antiquitie, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred* (father to the Confeſſor) *willing in their Gemots, or conuentions, monethly held in euery Hundred, twelue graue men of free condition, ſhould with the* Greue, *the chiefe Officer amongſt them, ſweare vpon the Euangeliſts, to iudge euery mans cauſe aright.* But here we ſee twelue men were to bee aſſeſſors with the *Greue* to iudge, and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now vſed; Beſides, had there beene any ſuch forme, we ſhould aſwell haue heard thereof in their Lawes and practiſe, as of thoſe other kinds of *Ordeal*, onely, and vſually mentioned.

The Engliſh trials.

But whatſoeuer innouations were in all other things; the gouernment of the peace and ſecurity of the Kingdome (which moſt imported the King to looke vnto) ſeemes to be continued as before, and for that buſineſſe he found here better Lawes eſtabliſhed, by the wary care of our former Kings, then any hee could bring. Amongſt which eſpecially was *the Borough Law, wherby euery free man of the Commons ſtood as ſurety for each others behauiour, in this ſort.*

The continuation of the Law for the peace.

The Borough Law of the Saxons.

The Kingdome was deuided into Shieres or Shares, euery Shiere conſiſting of ſo many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, containing ten houſholders, whereof; *If any one ſhould commit an vnlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reaſon: If he fled, 31 dayes were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended, he was made to reſtore the damage done; otherwiſe the Free-borough-head (to ſay the Tythingman) was to take with him two of the ſame Village, and out of three other Villages next adioyning as many (that is, the Tythingman, and two other of the principall men) and before the officers of that Hundred, purge himſelfe and the Village of the fact, reſtoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they ſufficed not to ſatisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, muſt make vp the reſt, and beſides take an oath to be no way acceſſary to the fact; and to produce the Offender, if by any meanes they could recouer him, or know where he were. Beſides, euery Lord and Maiſter, ſtood Borough, for all his family, whereof if any ſeruant were called in queſtion, the Maiſter was to ſee him anſwere it in the Hundred, where he was accuſed. If he fled, the Maiſter was to yeeld ſuch goods, as he had to the King. If himſelfe were accuſed to be aiding or priuie to his ſeruants flight, he was to cleere himſelfe by fiue men, otherwiſe to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be outlawed.*

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

Theſe lincks thus intermutually faſtened, made ſo ſtrong a chaine to hold the whole frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the moſt politique regiments vpon earth, all the interleagued ſocieties of men, cannot ſhew vs a ſtreigther forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, comming vpon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to eſtabliſh him, ſo ſoone, and eaſily as he did; This *Borough-Law* (being as a Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth, comming to bee poſſeſt by a Conquering Maiſter) was made to turne all this to a-

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nance vpon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may be some cause, we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest. For had not this people bene bound with these fetters, and an idle peace (but had liued loose, and in action,) it is like they would haue done as nobly, and giuen as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as euer the *Brittaines* did, either against the *Romans*, or the *Saxons*, their predecessors, or themselues had done against the *Danes*; a people far more powerfull, and numerous then these. The Conqueror, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had *Normandy* euer beene able to haue yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must haue had.

No popular insurrection before the Conquest.

But now. *First the strict executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weapening the Commons. Thirdly, preuenting their night-meetings with a heauy penalty, that euery man at the day closing, should couer his fire, and depart to his rest. Fourthly, erecting diuers Fortresses in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, collating all offices, both of commaund, and indicature, on those who were his*; made his domination such as he would haue it.

The meanes vsed by the *Norman*, to establish his Conquest.

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Iudges to determine all businesse in euery Shiere, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergy, within the Prouince of their owne Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, to deale onely in businesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Canons, and Lawes Episcopall.

Alteration of the Gouernment.

And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in euery Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward* Senior, all matters in question should, vpon especiall penalty, without further deferment, bee finally decided in their *Gemote*, or conuentions held monthly in euery hundred: now he ordained, *That foure times in the yeare, for certaine daies, the same businesses should be determined in such place as he would appoint, where he constituted Iudges to attend for that purpose, and also others from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, all litigaters should haue Iustice, and from whom was no appeale.* Others he appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called *Iusticiary Pacis.*

The order of deciding controuersies in the Saxons time.

New orders instituted by the *Normans.*

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, we may finde by taking note of their former vsances. *Our Auncestors had only two kinde of tenures*, Boke-land, *and* Folk-land, *the one was a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was as free-hold, and by Charter, hereditarie, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and seruices, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the* German *manner, equally deuided amongst all the children, which they called* Land-skiftan, *to say* Part-land, *a custome yet continued in some places of* Kent, *by the name of* Gauel-kin, *of* Gif eal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retayned their auncient Lawes and liberties by especiall graunt from the Conquerour: who after his battaile at *Hastings*, comming to *Douer*, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughs of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a mouing wood. With which strange and suddaine show being much mooued, the Arch-bishop *Stigand*, and the Abbot *Egelsin* (who had raised this commotion by shewing the people in what daunger they were, vtterly to loose their liberties, and indure the perpetuall misery of seruitude vnder the domination of strangers) present themselues, and declared, *How they were the vniuersall people of that Countrey, gathered together in that manner, with boughes in their hands, either as Oline branches of intercession, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leaue their liues, then that which was dearer, their freedome.* Whereupon they say the Conquerour granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, then such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

The alteration of Tenures.

Lambert. Freehold.

The Tenure of *Ganel kin.*

The Customs of *Kent* preserued by the mediation of the Archbishop *Stigand.*

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable then before) vpon their petition, and compassion of their oppression hee releeued, their case was this. All such as were discouered to haue had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enioy the benefit of life, hauing all

Gerualius Tilburiensis, Dialog Scacc.

their liuelihood taken from them, became vaſſals vnto thoſe Lords to whom the poſſeſſions were giuen, of all ſuch lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent ſeruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely ſo long as it pleaſed their Lords, without hauing any eſtate for themſelues, or their children, and were oftentimes violently caſt out vpon any ſmall diſpeaſure, contrary to all right: wherupon it was ordained, that whatſoeuer they had obtained of their Lords, by their obſequious ſeruice, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they ſhould hold by an inuiolable Law, during their owne liues.

Villenage.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raiſing and diſpoſing of his reuenues, taking a courſe to make, and know the vtmoſt of his eſtate, by a generall ſuruey of the Kingdome, whereof he had a preſident by the *Dome* booke of *Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfride*. But as one day informes another, ſo theſe actions of profit grew more exact in their after practiſe: and a larger Commiſſion is granted, a choice of skilfuller men imployed, to take the particulars both of his owne poſſeſſions, and euery mans elſe in the Kingdome, the Nature & the quality of their Lands, their eſtates, and abilities; beſides the deſcriptions, bounds, and diuiſions of Shieres and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treaſury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the ſoueraigne Court of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here *Taleé*, and it was called the *Dome* booke (*Liber iudiciarius*) for all occaſions concerning theſe particulars:

A ſuruay made of the Kingdome.

Geruaſius Tilburien. de Scacc.

Dome booke.

All the Forreſts and Chaſes of the Kingdome, hee ſeized into his proper poſſeſſion, and exempted them from being vnder any other Law then his owne pleaſure, to ſerue as *Penetralia Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their ſerious labours in the State, where none other might preſume to haue to doe, and where all puniſhments and pardons of delinquents were to be diſpoſed by himſelfe, abſolutely, and all former cuſtomes abrogated. And to make his command the more, hee increaſed the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coaſt diſpeopled the Country for aboue thirty miles ſpace, making of old inhabited poſſeſſions, a new Forreſt, inflicting moſt ſeuere puniſhments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much aduances his reuenues. An act of the greateſt concuſſion, and tyranny, hee committed in his reigne, and which purchaſed him much hatred. And the ſame courſe held (almoſt euery King neere the Conqueſt) till this heauy grieuance was allayed by the Charter of Forreſts, granted by *Henry* the third.

Ibid.

The new Foreſt in *Hampſhire.*

Beſides theſe, he impoſed no new taxations on the State, and vſed thoſe hee found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an impoſitiō of two ſhillings vpon euery hide or ploughland (raiſed firſt by King *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre vpon them) hee would not haue it made an Annuall payment, but onely taken vpon vrgent occaſion, and it was ſeldome gathered in his time, or his ſucceſſors (ſaith *Geruaſius*) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of 6. ſhillings vpon euery hide-land, leauied preſently after the generall ſuruey of the Kingdome. *Eſcuage* (whether it were an impoſition formerly layd, though now newly named, I doe not find) was a ſumme of money, taken of euery Knights fee: In after times, eſpecially raiſed for the ſeruice of *Scotland*; And this alſo, ſayth *Geruaſius*, was ſeldome leauied but on great occaſion, for ſtipends, and donatiues to ſouldiers; yet was it at firſt a due, reſerued out of ſuch lands as were giuen by the Prince for ſeruice of warre; according to the Cuſtome of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time wee finde Lands were giuen in reward of ſeruice to the men of warre, for terme of their liues, as they are at this day in *Turkey*: After they became Patrimoniall, & hereditary to their Children. *Seuerus* the Emperor was the firſt who permitted the children of men of war, to enioy their Fiefs, prouided that they followed Armes. *Conſtantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands aſſigned them. The eſtates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, vnder the laſt Kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Thoſe Lords who had the great Fiefs of the King, ſub-deuided them to other perſons, of whom they were to haue ſeruice.

He impoſed no new taxations.

The occaſion of paying *Eſcuage.*

The Cuſtome of Fiefs.

By what meanes he increaſed his Reuenues.

Mulctuary profits, beſides, ſuch as might ariſe by the breach of his Forreſt-lawes, hee had, few or none new, vnleſſe that of Murther, which aroſe vpon this occaſion.

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In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the Engliſh towards the new-come *Normans*, was ſuch, as finding them ſingle in woods, or remote places, they ſecretly murthered them; and the deed doers (for any the ſeuereſt courſes taken) could neuer be diſcouered: whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found ſlaine and the murtherer not taken, ſhould be condemned to pay to the King, ſome 36 pounds, ſome 28 pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred, that the puniſhment, being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, & haſten the diſcouery of the malefactor, by whom ſo many muſt (otherwiſe) be intereſſed.

The law for Murther, renued, firſt made, by King *Knute*, *vide* Append.

For his prouiſionary reuenues, he continued the former cuſtome held by his predeceſſors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held their Lands of the Crown, payde no money at all; but onely Victuals, Wheate, Beiſes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a iuſt note of the quality and quantity of euery mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shieres of the Kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings houſe. Other ordinarie in-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was raiſed by mulcts, and out of Cities and Caſtles where Agriculture was not vſed. What the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that neuer reached ſo farre before; and the firſt hand, he layd vpon that ſide which weighed heauily, was his ſeizing vpon the Plate, Iewels, and Treaſure within all the Monaſteries of *England*, pretending the rebels, and their aſſiſtants, conueyed their riches into theſe religious houſes (as into places priuiledged, and free from ſeizure) to defraud him thereof.

Geruaſius Tilb.

King *William* ſeaſed vpon the Treaſure committed to Monaſteries.

Beſides this, he made all Biſhoprickes, and Abbeys that held Barronies (before that time free from all ſecular ſeruices) contributary to his warres, and his other occaſions. And this may bee the cauſe why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules ouer the memory of Kings) haue layd ſuch an eternall impoſition vpon his name, of rigour, oppreſſion, and euen barbarous immanity, as they haue done. When the nature & neceſſary diſpoſition of his affaires (being as he was) may aduocate for him, & in many things much excuſe his courſes. But this name of Conqueſt, which euer imports violence and miſery, is of ſo harſh a ſound, and ſo odious in nature, as a people ſubdued cannot giue a Conquerour his due (how euer worthy,) and eſpecially to a ſtranger, whom onely time muſt naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reaſon of his twenty yeares gouernment, which had much impaired the memory of former cuſtomes in the younger ſort, and well inured the elder to the preſent vſances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more eaſie to his ſons: who (though they were farre inferiour to him in worth) were ſomewhat better beloued, then he; and the rather, for that their occaſions made them, ſomewhat to vnwreſt the Soueraignty from that height, whereunto he had ſtrayned it.

His Counſellors.

How hee was vnderſet with able miniſters for the managing of theſe great affaires of his, though time hath ſhut vs out from the knowledge of ſome of them (it being in the fortune of Kings, to haue their miniſters like riuers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a ſtrong conſtitution of iudgement, he could not but be ſtrongly furniſhed in that kind; for weake Kings haue euer weake ſides, and the moſt renowned Princes are alwaies beſt ſtored with able miniſters. The principall of higheſt imployment, were *Odon*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earle of *Kent*: *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz Auber*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* ſupplied the place of Vice-roy in the Kings abſence, and had the management of the Treaſury. A man of a wide and agile ſpirit, let out into as ſpacious a conceipt of greatneſſe, as the heighth of his place could ſhew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of mony (which his auarice, & length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchaſe the people of *England*, vpon the death of the King his brother: who (vnderſtanding he had a purpoſe of going to *Rome*, and ſeeing a mighty confluence of followers gathering vnto him) made a cloſe priſon ſtay his iourney: excuſing it to the Church, that he impriſoned not a Biſhop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant vnto him. Yet, vpon his death-bed ſhortly following (after many obſecrations, that hee would, in reſpect of bloud & nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his ſons) he releaſed him.

The Biſhop of *Bayeux* as an Earle of *Kent* committed to priſon.

Reserued for greater mischiefe.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition euermore turnes about her intentions) was the enuy he bare to *Lanfrane*, whose counsell, in his greatest affaires, the King especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-beare him, he tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy warre, and died in the siege of *Antioche*.

Lanfranc.

Lanfrane was a man of as vniuersall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lombardy*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to do good to *England*; vpon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard he raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against *Odon*, the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: and in al he could, stood so betweene the kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else haue fallen into. For the Conqueror (howsoeuer austere to others) was to him alwaies milde and yeelding, as if subdued with his grauity, and vertue.

The Reformation of the Clergie by *Lanfranc.*

He reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergie, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to bee an actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to giue entertainment to deuotion, hee did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might be procured: added a more State and conueniencie to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the founding of Hospitals. Hauing long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole reigne of this busie new state building King, and after his death, seeing his successor in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to faile his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, diuining of future mischiefes by present courses, grew much to lament (with his friends) the teadiousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing hee would often desire of God.

William Fitz. Auber (as is deliuered) was a principall counsellor and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein hee furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improuident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Prouinces) hee ordained, *That in the County of* Hereford, *no man of war (or souldier) should be fined for any offence what soeuer, aboue seuen shillings*; when in other Countries, vpon the least occasion of disobeying their Lord will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor, in all the affaires of *England*, and *Normandy*, a chiefe fauorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry *Richild*, Countesse dowager of *Flanders*, and to haue the gouernment of that Country, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her son; of whom, with the King of *France*, he had the tutelary charge committed by *Baldouin* the sixth, Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate, *Robert de Frison*, his vncle (called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*) had vsurped. And against him *Fitz. Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph*, surprized and slaine.

William Fitz Auber Earle of *Hereford*, made Lawes in his Prouince.

And this was in the fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had bene the especiall actors in all his fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As *Beaumont*, *Monfort*, *Harcourte*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *Vicount Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Conte de Vannes* &c. And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act, in the 74 yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his reigne.

The death of *William* the first.

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue layne neglected, while his

his ſeruants attended to imbeaſle his moueables: in the end, his yongeſt ſonne *Henry*, had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Caen*; where firſt at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran all to quench a houſe on fire: Afterward brought to be intombed, a gentleman ſtands forth, and in ſterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his inheritance, deſcended from his Anceſtors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to *Rou*, their firſt founder, for Iuſtice: whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made ſo much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attained, had not now a roome to containe him, without being purchaſed at the hand of another, men eſteeming a liuing Dog more then a dead Lyon.

His Corps lay vnburied 3. dayes.

His interment hindered.

He had a faire iſſue by *Maude* his wife, foure ſons, and ſixe daughter. To *Robert* his eldeſt, he left the Duchy of *Normandy*: to *William* the third ſon, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongeſt, his treaſure, with an annuall penſion to be payd him by his brothers. *Richard* who was his ſecond ſon, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was ſlaine by a Stagge hunting in the new forreſt, and began the fatalneſſe that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the ſecond, there ſlaine with an arrow, and of *Richard* the ſon of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His iſſue,

His eldeſt daughter *Cicile*, became a Nun, *Conſtance* married to the Earle of *Brittaine*: *Adula* to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys*, who likewiſe rendred her ſelfe a Nun, in her age; ſuch was then their deuotion, and ſo much were theſe ſolitary retires, affected by the greateſt Ladies of thoſe times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warren*, the firſt Earle of *Surrey*, the other two, *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret*, died before marriage.

Now, what hee was in the circle of himſelfe in his owne continent, wee finde him of an euen ſtature, comely perſonage, of good preſence, riding, ſitting, or ſtanding, till his corpulency increaſing with age, made him ſomewhat vnweildy, of ſo ſtrong a conſtitution, as he was neuer ſickly till a few moneths before his death. His ſtrength ſuch, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he ſubdued this Kingdome, it ſeemes by his continual actions, he felt not the weight of yeeres vpon him till his laſt yeere.

The deſcription of *William* the firſt.

What was the compoſition of his mind; we ſee it (the faireſt) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were anſwerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordained for the great worke he effected. And though hee might haue ſome aduantage of the time, wherein we often ſee men preuaile more by the imbecility of others, then their owne worth; yet let the ſeaſon of that world be well examined, and a iuſt meaſure taken of his actiue vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he thoſe incounters and concurrencies of ſufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Hauing on one ſide the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, farre mightier in people and ſhipping then himſelfe, ſtrongly ſided in this Kingdome, as eger to recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better prepared.

For his deuotion and mercy, the brighteſt Starres in the Spheare of Maieſty, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due obſeruation of the firſt, the Clergy (that loued him not) confeſſe: the other was ſeene; in the often pardoning, and receiuing into grace, thoſe (who rebelled againſt him) as if he held ſubmiſsion ſatisfactory, for the greateſt offence, and ſought not to defeit men, but their enterprizes: for we finde but one Noble man executed in all his reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falſified his faith before: And thoſe he held priſoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Siward*, with *Wolfnoth*, the brother of *Harold*, and others (vpon compaſſion of their indurance) he releaſed a little before his death.

His deuotion and mercy.

But one noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.

Beſides, hee was as farre from ſpuſition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an eſpeciall note of his Magnanimity) as he gaue *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (vpon his ſuite) ſent him well furniſhit to the holy War, where he nobly behaued himſelfe, and attained to great eſtimation; with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in reſpect of his alliances

alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But theſe may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and ſo the age muſt haue part of this commendations.

His workes of piety.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predeceſſors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the ſame Prouince, ſeuen Abbeyes of Monkes, and ſixe of Nunnes; with which fortreſſes (as he ſayd) he furniſht *Normandy*; to the end men might therein fight againſt the fleſh, and the Diuell. In *England* he founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his firſt Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-brooke* in *Huntingdonſhire*, and the other at *Armthewt* in *Cumberland*, beſides his other publique workes.

Magnificent he was in his Feſtiuals, which with great ſolemnity and ceremony (the formall entertainers of reuerence and reſpect) he duly obſerued: Keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Gloceſter*, his Eaſter at *Wincheſter*, and Pentecoſt at *Weſtminſter*: whither he ſummoned his whole Nobility; that Embaſſadors and ſtrangers might ſee his State, and largeneſſe. Nor euer was he more milde and indulgent, then at ſuch times. And theſe ceremonies his firſt ſucceſſor obſerued; but the ſecond omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of William the firſt.

The Life, and Reigne, of William the ſecond.

1087. *Anno Reg.* I.

William the ſecond, ſonne to *William* the firſt, not attending his Fathers funeral, haſts into *England* to recouer the Crowne, where (by the eſpeciall mediation of the Arch-biſhop *Lanfrane*, his owne large bounty, and wide promiſes) he obtained it, according to his Fathers will; to whom, by his obſequiouſneſſe he had much indeered himſelfe, eſpecially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. He was a Prince more gallant then good, and hauing beene bred with the ſword, alwayes in action, and on the better ſide of fortune, was of a nature rough, and haughty, wherunto, his youth, and Soueraignty added a greater wildeneſſe. Comming to ſucceed in a Gouernment, fore-ruled by mature, and graue Counſell, hee was ſo ouer-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatneſſe, as made him appeare of a leſſer Orbe then otherwiſe he would haue done. And then the ſhortneſſe of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares; allowed him not time to recouer that opinion, which the errors of his firſt gouernment had loſt, or his neceſſities cauſed him to commit. For the ſucceſſion in right of *Primogeniture*, beeing none of his, and the elder brother liuing, howſoeuer his fathers will was, hee muſt now be put, and held in poſſeſſion of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchaſe (muſt be) by large conditions of releuements in generall, and profuſe gifts in particular. Wherein he had the more to doe, being to deale with a State conſiſting of a two fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of diſcontent, was the more apt to take,) hauing a head whereto it might readily gather. Which made, that vnleſſe he would lay more to their hopes then another, hee could not hope to haue them firmely his. And therefore ſeeing the beſt way to win the *Normans*, was by money, and the *Engliſh*, with liberties, he ſpared not at firſt, to beſtow on the one, and to promiſe the other, more then befitted his eſtate, and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in ſupplies (for great giuers muſt alwayes giue) and alſo in performances, got him farre more hatred then otherwiſe he could euer haue had, beeing forced to all the diſhonorable ſhifts for raiſing moneyes that could be deuiſed, and euen to reſume his owne former grants.

William the ſecond reſumes his owne Grants.

And to begin at firſt to take the courſe to bee euer needy, preſently after his Coronation, hee goes to *Wincheſter* where his Fathers Treaſure lay, and empties out all that; which, with great prouidence, was there amaſſed: whereby, though he wonne the loue of many, hee loſt more, being not able to content all. And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great engine) money, he had to giue hopes: and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnckle, *Roger de Mongomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with others,

others, who were mainly for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortune, vpon their first foundation. And for this purpose borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the father and mother had left much Treasure) and for the same, ingages the Countrey of *Constantine*, and leuies an Army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better setled him in his gouernment) then to raise spirits that could not easily bee allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Markes *Per annum*.

Robert of Normandy borrowes summes of his brother *Henry*, to purchase the Kingdome of *England*.

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantine* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes, for which hee had ingaged it. Whereupon King *William* vpbrayds *Henry* (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsury) in lending money to depriue him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue; surprized the Castle of Mount Saint *Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his money was serued with *Brittaines*, who committed great spoyles, in the Countries of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

Odon for malice to *Lanfranc*, seekes to distract the Kings forces.

Odon, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into *England*, after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earledome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so farre vnder what he had beene, and *Lanfranc* his concurrent, now the onely man in councell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as he found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in diuers parts of the Realme to distract the Kings forces: as first *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constans*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifie themselues in *Bristow*, and take in all the Countrey about: *Roger de Biged*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Hugh de Grandemenil* about *Leicester*: *Roger de Mongomerie* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Raulfe Mortimer*, all *Normans*, and assaile the City of *Worcester*, making themselues strong in those parts. *Odon* himselues fortifies the Castle of *Rochester*, makes good all the Coast of *Kent*, sollicites *Robert* to vse what speed hee could to come with all his power out of *Normandy*: which had he done in time, and not giuen his brother so large opportunity of preuention, hee had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme his friends, vnder-worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which he did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other relieuements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and forrests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as he soone brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egar to reuenge them of that Nation) and here they learned first to beate their Conquerors, hauing the faire aduantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

The King vnderworkes his enemies, by releeuing the doleances and granting former freedoms to the English.

Mongomery, being won from his complices, and the seuerall conspirators in other parts repreſt, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the faction lay; and first wonne the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to cause those which defended that of *Rochester*, which were *Eustace* Earle of *Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But being brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiuing him, detained him, as he pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King vpon a false intelligence giuen of the ariuall of Duke *Robert* at *Southampton*; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire into *France*; and *Odon* to abiure *England*.

1088.
Anno Reg. 2.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his forces into *Normandy*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as he might hold him from any future attempts abroad for euer after. Where first he obtaines Saint *Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Countrey of *Eu*, *Festampe*, the *Abathie* of mount Saint *Michel*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* seekes ayde of *Phillip* King of *France*, who

who comes downe with an Army, into *Normandy*; but ouercome with the power of money wherewith King *William* assayled him, did him little good, and so retired.

Duke *Robert* driuen to peace.

1089. Anno Reg. 3.

Whereupon Duke *Robert*, in the end, was driuen to a dishonorable peace, concluded at *Caen*, with these Articles. *First, that King* William *should hold the County of* Eu, Fescampe, *and all other places, which he had bought, and were deliuered vnto him, by* William *Earle of* Eu, *and* Stephen *Earle of* Aumal, *fisters sonne to* Willam *the first. Secondly, Hee should ayde the Duke to recouer all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vsurped from the Duchy. Thirdly, that such* Normans, *as had lost their estates in* England, *by taking part with the Duke, should be restored thereunto. Fourthly, that the suruiuer of either of them should succeed in the Dominions both of* England *and* Normandy. After this peace made, by the mediation of the King of *France*, whilst *William* had a strong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requested his ayde against their brother *Henry*; who still kept him in the Fort of mount *Michel*, vpon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For beeeing a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was euery way in danger to be crusht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should haue tooke to either (their turne being serued, his owne might be in hazard; and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layde siege to this Castle; And one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a Company of horse; whereof three ranne at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces; as they brake pectorall, girses, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaues the King, and the saddle on the ground: the King takes vp the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in perill of his life to saue his saddle, answered: *It would haue angred him, the* Bretons *should haue bragged, they had won the saddle from vnder him; and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiors to force any thing from him.*

The Kings vndaunted valor.

The King and his two brethren agreed.

1092. Anno Reg. 5.

In the end *Henry* grew to extreame want of drinke and water, although hee had all other prouision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert* that hee might houe his necessity supplied. The Duke seuds him a Tun of wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith *William* being displeased, Duke *Robert* told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate and drinke which craued it, and that if hee perisht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith *William* likewise relenting, they sent for *Henry*, and agreement is made; *That he should hold in morgage the Countrie of* Constantine, *till the money was payd, and a day appointed to receiue it at* Rouen.

Which accord King *William* the rather wrought, to draw as much from *Robert* as he might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possest himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Duchy: and caused him to put from him, and banish out of *Normandy*; *Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* held his Pensioner, & as a stone in his hand, vpon all occasions to threaten *William* with anothers right, if his owne preuailed not: And besides, he wrought so, as either through promise of money, or some farther ratification to be made here, hee brought his brother *Robert* with him ouer into *England*, and tooke him along in an expedition against *Malcolin*, who had incroched vpon his territories during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, *Robert*, soone after returnes much discontented into *Normandy*, and as it seemes, without money to satisfie his brother *Henry*. Who repairing to *Rouen* at a day appointed, in stead of receiuing it, was committed to prison, and before hee could be released, forced to renounce the Country of *Constantine*, and sweare neuer to claime any thing in *Normandy*.

Duke *Robert* commits his brother *Henry* to prison.

1093. Anno Reg. 6.

Henry complaines of this grosse iniustice, to *Philip* King of *France*, who gaue him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother *Robert*) within the Duchy; conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle *Dampfront* was deliuered vnto him: whereby shortly after, hee got all the Countrey of *Passeys*, about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, by the secret ayde of King *William*, *Richard de Riuieres*, and *Roger de Mamontile*.

Duke

Duke *Robert* leuies forces, and eagerly wrought to recouer *Dampfront*, but finding how *Henry* was vnderset, inueighes against the perfidie of his brother of *England*: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more then euer. And ouer, passes King *William* with a great Army, but rather to terrifie, then do any great matter; as a Prince that did more contend then warre; and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to vse it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace then win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprizements of Castles, but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: wherein to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* seemes hard to bee wrought, and makes the more shew of force; sending ouer into *England* for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to be shipped: an offer was made to be proclaimed by his Lieutenant, that giuing ten shillings a man, whosoeuer would, might depart home to his dwelling: whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and serued to see the King of *France*, vnder-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke *Robert*, who seeing himselfe left by the *French*, must needes make his peace as the other would haue it.

Now for his affaires at home, the vncertaine warres with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gaue him more businesse then honour. Being driuen in the one to incounter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disaduantage of his people, and in the other with as many necessities. *Wales* he sought to subdue; *Scotland* so to restraine, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings, seeming more willing to haue peace then to seeke it, are brought to an enteruiew. *Malcolin* vpon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to *Gloucester*; where, vpon the haughtinesse of King *William*, looking to be satisfied in all his demands, and the vnyeeldingnesse of King *Malcolin*, standing vpon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the iudgement of the Primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdaine, and rancor in *Malcolin*, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of *England*. So that vpon his returne, armed with rage; he raises an Army, entets *Northumberland*, which foure times before he had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking vtterly to destroy it, and to haue gone farther, was, with his eldest son *Edward* slaine, rather by the fraude then power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that County: The griefe of whose deathes, gaue *Margaret*, that blessed Queene, hers. After whom, the State elected *Dufnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were habored, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to set the line right, and to haue a King there which should be beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second son to *Malcolin* (who had serued him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of succession: by whose meanes, *Dufnald* was expeld, and the State receiued *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde he brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that he should neuer more entertaine *English* or *Normans* in his seruice.

1084. *Anno Reg.* 7. The King of *Scots*, & his son *Edward* slaine, causes Queen *Margaret* to dy with griefe *Roger Houeden.*

This businesse sealed; *Wales* strugling for liberty, and reuenge, gaue new occasion of worke: whither he went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Countrie: but they (retiring into the Mounteines and the Isle of *Anglesey*) auoided the present furie. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprising the Isle (their chiefest retreit,) committed there barbarous examples of cruelty, by excecations, and miserable dismembring the people; which immanity, was there suddenly auenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling ouer board into the sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of *Norway*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming vpon that coast from taking in the Orcades, encountred with him and that force he had at sea.

1085. *Anno Reg.* 8.

These were the remore businesses, when a conspiracy braile out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'Ou*, and many others, which are sayd *to haue sought the destruction of the King, and the aduancement of* Stephen *Earle of* Albemare, *his Aunts sonne, to the Crowne*; which gaue the King more trouble then danger: for, by the speedy and maine prosecution of the

businesse

busineſſe (wherein he vſed the beſt ſtrength of *England*) it was ſoone ended, with the confuſion of the vndertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his nature, by hardening the ſame to an extreame rigor: for after the feare was paſt, his wrath, and cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to bee numbred amongſt incurable diſeaſes.

The Earle was committed to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, *William d'Ou*, at a Councell at *Salisbury* being ouercome in Duell (the courſe of triall) had his eyes put out, and his priuie members cut off. *William de Alueric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly perſonage, and allyed vnto him, was condemned to be hanged: though *both in his confeſſion to* Oſmond *the Biſhop there, and to all the people as he paſſed to his execution*, he left a cleere opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But now; whilſt theſe fractures here at home, the vnrepairable breaches abroad, (were ſuch) as could giue the King no longer aſſuredneſſe of quiet, then the attempters would: and that all the Chriſtian world was out, either at diſcord amongſt themſelues, or in faction, by the ſchiſme of the Church; Pope *Vrban*, aſſembling a generall Councell at *Cleirmont* in *Auergne*, to compoſe the affaires of Chriſtendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof, to ioyne themſelues in action, for the recouery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; tooke ſo generally (meeting with the diſpoſition of an actiue, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had elſe conſumed each other at home, vpon vnknowne Nations that vndid them abroad.

Such, and ſo great grew the heate of this action, made by the perſwaſion of the Iuſtice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the aſſuredneſſe of heauen to all the pious vndertakers, that none were eſteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would ſtay behind. Each giues hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardneſſe of ſo many great Princes, paſſing away their whole eſtates, and leauing all what the decerenſſe of their Countrey contained, drew to this warre 300000. men, all which, though in Armes, paſſed from diuers Countries and Ports, with that quietneſſe, as they ſeemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Peter the Hermit gets 300000. men to recouer the Holy Land.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, Nephew and heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a generous Prince, bred in the warres of the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, was the firſt that offered vp himſelfe to this famous voyage; and with him his two brothers, *Euſtace* and *Baudowin*, by whoſe examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count *de Vermendois*, brother to *Phillip* King of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert le Friſon*, Earle of *Flanders*; *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, and *Charters*: *Aimar* Biſhop of *Puy*; *William* Biſhop of *Orange*: *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouſe*; *Baudowin* Earle of *Hainaut*, *Baudowin*, Earle of *Rethel*, and *Garnier* Earle of *Greitz*: *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*: *Tſoard* Earle of *Dol*: *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*: *Guillaume* Conte *de Foreſts*; *Stephen* Conte *d'Aumant*: *Hugh* Earle of *Sainct Pol*; *Retron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. Theſe were for *France*, *Gerdany*, and the Countries adioyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Boniface*, with others, whoſe names are loſt: *Spaine* onely had none; being afflicted at that time with the *Saracens*.

1097. Anno Reg. 10.

Moſt of all theſe Princes and great perſonages to furniſh themſelues for this expedition, ſold, or ingaged their poſſeſſions. *Godfrey* ſold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Biſhop of *Liege*, and *Mens* to the Citizens. Beſides, he ſold the Caſtle of *Sarteney*, and *Mouſe* to *Richard* Biſhop of *Verdun*; and to the ſame Biſhop, *Baudoin*, his brother, ſold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Euſtace* likewiſe ſold all his liuelihood to the Church: *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *France*: and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchie of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*; and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakened the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Chriſtendome) held a long, and bloody buſineſſe, about the inueſtitures of Biſhops; tooke away and infeebled his partiſans, abated, as if by *Oſtraciſme*, the power of any Prince that might oppoſe him; but alſo aduanced the State Eccleſiaſticall by purchaſing theſe great temporalities,

(more honorable for the sellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For by aduising the vndertakers, seeing their action was for CHRIST and his Church, rather to make ouer theis estates to the Clergie, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to haue the fayrest dealing; then vnto Lay-men; he effected this worke. Whereby the third part of the best Fiefs in *France* came to bee possest by the Clergie: and afterward vpon the same occasion, many things more sold vnto them in *England*, especially when *Richard* the first vndertooke the voyage, who passed ouer diuers Mannors to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* (and also, for his mony) created him Earle of *Durham*, as appeares in his life.

This humor was kept vp, and in motion almost 300. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragements, by the difficulties in passing, the disasters there through contagion arising from a disagreeing clime: and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the brauest men of all our West world, and especially *France*. For *Germanie*, and *Italie*, those who were the Popes friends, and would haue gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him; but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: the Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in *Asia*, brought one thence: to the daunger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heates and coldnesses (as made by a league, consisting of seuerall Nations, emulous, and vnconcurrent in their courses) taught such as were of an entire bodie, their weaknesses, and the way to conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

An Emperour of *Germany*, 2. Kings of *France* with their wiues, a King of *England*, and a King of *Norwey* went all thither in person.

And by this meanes King *William* here, was now ridde of an elder brother, and a Competitor, had the possession of *Normandy* during his reigne, and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in *England*. Where now, in making vp this great summe to pay *Robert*, he vsed all the extreme meanes could be deuised: as hee had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergie, being the first King which showed his successors an euill precedent of keeping their Liuings vacant, and receiuing the profits of them himselfe, as hee did that of *Canterburie*, foure yeares after the death of *Lanfranc*; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at *Glocester*, the sixth yeare of his reigne, his Clergie, in the weaknesse of his body, tooke so sharpe vpon his minde, so as hee vowed, vpon his recouerie to see all vacancies furnished; which he did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that hauing escaped the danger hee would willingly haue deceiued the Saint: And *Anselme*, an *Italian* borne, though bred in *Normandy*, is in the end preferred to that See. But, what with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, he neuer enioyed it quietly vnder him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the inuestitures of Bishops, and other priuiledges of the Church, which gaue much to doe, to many of his successors. *Anselme* not yeelding to the Kings will, forsooke the Land; whereupon his Bishopricke was re-assumed; and this King held in his hands at one time, besides that of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricke of *Winchester*, *Sarum*, and eleuen Abbayes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

1099. *Anno Reg.* 12.

He vsually sold all spirituall preferments to those would giue most, and tooke fines of Priests for fornication: he vexed *Robert Bloet* Bishop of *Lincolne* in suite, till hee payd him 5000 pounds. And now the Clergie, vpon this taxe, complayning their wants, were answered, *That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels, they should not spare them.* Hee also tooke money of Iewes, to cause such of them as were conuerted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their vnbeleefe, then their conuersion. Wherein hee discouered the worst peece of his nature, *Irreligion.*

The Kings shew of religion.

Besides his great taxations layd on the Layetie, he set informers vpon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raysing moneys,

The antiquity of Informers.

This *Ranulph* gaue a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellour. Profusion euer in want.

wherein he failed not of fit Ministers to execute his will, among whom was chiefe, *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other Bishops, to counterpose the Clergie, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, either in his buildings (which were the new Castle vpon *Tine*, the Citty of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice he appeased the King of *Fraunce* with money, and his Profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreame wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tells him how the Citty of *Mans* was surprised by *Hely* Conte *de la Flesche* who by his (wife pretended right thereunto, and was aided by *Fouques d' Angiers*, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wils him to make all the speed he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And sodainely he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by, shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisions, and people for his iourney,: hee sayd; *They who loue mee, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush*, sayd he, *set forward, I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.*

By breake of day he arriued at *Harflew*, sends for his Captaines, and men of warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither hee came at the day appointed. Conte *de la Flesche*, hauing more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouen*; where, more in rage, then distraide with his fortune, he let fall these words; That had hee not beene taken with a wile, hee would haue left the King but little Land on that side the sea; and were hee againe at libertie, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported the King sent for him, *Set him at liberty, gaue him a faire Horse, bad him go his way, and doe his worst.* Which act ouercame the *Conte* more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them. That he affected things of cost, euen in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his seruant, which brought him a new paire of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings; wherewith being angrie, hee asked his seruant if that were a fit price of a paire of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a marke, which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to haue cost more: An example of the Weare of the time, the humor of the Prince, and the deceipt of the seruant.

The King returnes into England with great iollity, as euer bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobilitie with all Magnificence, in his new Hall, lately finished at Westminster, wherein he found much fault for being built too little, saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, then a Hall for a King of* England, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gayetie of State, when hee had got about, all his businesse, beeke him wholly to the pleasure of peace; and being hunting with his Brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Tirell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age when he had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in by the graue counsell of *Lanfranc*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had been absolute for State; but he not after sought to bee absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince, and people miserable.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of William the second.

The

The Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

HENRY the yongeſt ſonne of *William* the firſt, being at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being giuen out, that *Robert*, who ſhould haue ſucceeded *William*, was choſen King of *Ieruſalem*, and not like to giue ouer that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to ſettle *Henry* in the poſſeſſion of the Crowne, all expedition poſſible was vſed, leſt the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy warres (being now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noyſed abroad to ſtagger the State, which ſeemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The firſt actions of his gouernement tended all, to baite the people, and ſugar their ſubiection (as his predeceſſor) vpon the like interpoſition had done, but with more moderation and aduiſedneſſe: this being a Prince better rectified in iudgement, and of a Nature more ſtayed, both by his ſufferings, hauing ſighed with other men vnder the hand of oppreſſion, that taught him patience; and alſo, by hauing ſomewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Beauclearke*.

1100. *Anno Reg.* 1.

First, to faſten the Clergy, *Hee furniſhes with fit men, all thoſe Vacancies which his Brother had kept emptie, recals* Anſelme *home to his Biſhopricke of* Canterbury, *and reſtores them to all whatſoeuer priuiledges had beene infringed by his Predeceſſor.* And for the Layetie, *Hee not onely pleaſed them in their releeuements, but in their paſſion, by puniſhing the chiefe Miniſters of their exactions*, which euermore eaſes the ſpleene of the people, glad to diſcharge their Princes of the euills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who haue the actiue power, where themſelues haue but the paſſiue, and commonly turne as they are mooued.

The miniſters of exactions puniſhed.

Ralph Biſhop of *Durham*, chiefe Counſellor to the late King, a man riſen by ſubtlety, of his Tongue (from infimous condition, to the higheſt employments) was committed to a ſtreight and loathſome priſon, being famed to haue put his Maiſter into all theſe courſes of exaction and irregularites, and remained amongſt the examples of perpetuall ignominie. All diſſolute perſons are expelled the Court: the people eaſed of their impoſitions, and reſtored to their lights in the night, which after the *Couerfew* Bell were forbidden them vpon great penalty, ſince the beginning of *William* the firſt. Many other good orders for the gouernment of the Kingdome are ordained, and beſides to make him the more popular and beloued, hee marches in the Royall bloud of *England*, taking to wife *Maude*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, deſcended from *Edmond Ironſide*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodneſſe ſhe had from a bleſſed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloiſter, and her vow to God, to deſcend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Ralph Biſhop of Durham committed to priſon. Diſſolute perſons expelled the Court.

Thus ſtood he entrenched in the State of *England*, when his brother *Robert* returning from the holy warres, and receiued with great applauſe into his Dutchy of *Normandy*, ſhakes the ground of all this buſineſſe: the firſt yeere threatning, the ſecond, arriuing with a ſtrong Army at *Portſmouth*, to recouer the Crowne, appertayning vnto him by the courſe of ſucceſſion, hauing a mighty partie in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility; who either mooued with Conſcience or their diſcontent (a ſickeneſſe riſing of ſelfe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occaſion the motiue of reuolt. The Armies on both ſides meete; and are readie to encounter; when, for auoyding Chriſtian bloud, a treaty of peace was moued, and in the end concluded with theſe Articles:

Robert Duke of Normandy returnes from the holy warre.

1101. *Anno Reg.* 2.

1. *That ſeeing* Henry *was borne ſince his father was King of* England, *which made him the eldeſt ſon of a King, though the laſt of a Duke and now inueſted in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he ſhould enioy the ſame during his life, paying to* Robert 3000 *markes* per annum. 2. *And* Robert *ſurrender, to ſucceed him.* 3. *That all, who had taken part with* Robert *ſhould haue their pardon, and receiue no detriment.*

The agreement between *Henry* and his brother.

1102. *Anno Reg.* 3.

This buſineſſe thus fairely paſſed ouer, *Robert* of a generous and free Nature, ſtaies and feaſts with his Brother here in *England*, from the beginning of Auguſt till Michaelmas,

Henry claymes the inueſtitures of Biſhops.

Michaelmas, and then returnes into *Normandy*. When *Henry*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher ſtraine of Regality, and now ſtands vpon his Prerogatiue, for the inueſtitures of Biſhops, and collation of other Eccleſiaſticall eſtates, within his kingdome, oppugned by *Anſelme*, who refuſed to conſecrate ſuch as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the ſacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this buſineſſe: in ſo much as the King diſpatches an Ambaſſage to Pope *Paſchal*, with declaration of the right hee had to ſuch inueſtitures, from his Predeceſſours, the Kings of *England*, who euermore conferred the ſame without interruption, till now of late.

Anſelme oppugnes the Kings prerogatiue.

The King ſends to the Pope.

1103. *Anno Reg.* 4.

Anſelme followes after theſe Ambaſſadours, goes likewiſe to *Rome*, to make good the oppoſition. The King baniſhes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Biſhopricke. The Pope ſtands ſtifly to the power aſſumed by the Church, but in the end, ſeeing the King faſt, ſtrong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee conſtrained (and hauing much to doe at that time with the Emperour, and other Princes, about the ſame buſineſſe) takes the way of perſwaſion to draw him to his will, ſollicising him with kind Letters, full of proteſtations, to further any deſignes of his that might concerne his State, if he would deſiſt from this proceeding.

Anſelme followes. *Vide* Append.

The King preſt with ſome other occaſions, that held him in, and hauing purpoſes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might be the better effected, conſents to ſatisfie the Popes will: and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this caſe. *Anſelme* is re-called, after a yeares baniſhment, and the Ambaſſadours returne with large remunerations.

The King and *Anſelm* accorded.

Whileſt theſe things were managing at *Rome*, there burſt out here a flame, which conſumed the parties that raiſed it, and brought the King more eaſily to his ends, then otherwiſe he could euer haue expected. *Robert de Beleſme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, ſonne to *Roger de Mongomerie* (a very fierce youth) preſuming of his great eſtate, and his friends, fortifies his Caſtles of *Shrewsburie*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tickhill*, and *Arundell*; with ſome other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the Welch, to oppoſe againſt the preſent State (out of a deſire to ſet all in combuſtion, for his owne ends, that were altogether vncertaine) which put the King to much trauell and charge: but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promiſes, hee ſcattered his complices, and tooke all his Caſtles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendred vpon condition, that the Maiſter might bee permitted to retire ſafe into *Normandy*; which the King eaſily granted; ſeeing now hee was but the body of a ſilly naked Creature, that had loſt both Feathers and wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the loſing of his owne eſtate in *England*, and thereby aduancing the Kings reuenues, hee goes to loſe *Normandy* alſo, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as ſoone as he came thither, hee faſtens amity with one of like condition and fortunes as himſelf (an exiled man,) whoſe inſolency had likewiſe ſtript him out of all his eſtate in *England*, and much waſted that in *Normandy*, which was *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, ſonne to *Robert*, halfe Brother to King *William* the firſt. Who being alſo Earle of *Cornewal*, made ſute likewiſe, to haue that of *Kent*: which his Vncle *Odon* lately held; but being denied it, and alſo euicted by Law, of certaine other parcels of Land, which hee claimed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not only he aſſaults the Kings Caſtles, but alſo vſurpes vpon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Cheſter*, then the Kings Ward. Theſe two Earles combine themſelues, and with their Adherents committed many outragious actions, to the great ſpoile and diſpleaſure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complained to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, he being now growne poore by his out-laniſhing humour, began it ſeemes, to bee little reſpected: or elſe falne from action, and thoſe greatneſſes his expectation had ſhewed him, was (as commonly great mindes daſht will ill fortunes are) falne likewiſe in ſpirit, and giuen ouer to his eaſe. Whereupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who ſends for his Brother *Robert*, *Reprehends him for the ſufferance of theſe diſorders*; *aduiſes him to act the part of a Prince, and not a Monke*: and in concluſion, whether by detention of his penſion, or drawing him, being of a facile

The Earle of Shewsburies combination.

1104. *Anno Reg.* 5.

facile Nature, to ſome act of releaſing it: ſends him home ſo much diſcontented, as he ioynes with theſe mutinous Earles, and by their inſtigation, was ſet into that flame, as he raiſed all his vtmoſt forces to be reuenged on his brother. 1105. *Anno Reg. 6.*

The King, touched in Conſcience with the fowleneſſe of a fraternall war (which the world would take, he being the mightier, to proceed out of his deſignes) ſtood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope *Paſchall*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (ſaith *Malmesbury*) wherein hee was quicke, perſwaded him, *That herein hee ſhould not make a ciuill warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefit vnto his Countrey*: Whereby (paide for remitting the Inueſtitures) hee held himſelfe countenanced in this buſineſſe; whereon, now he ſets with more alacrity and reſolution. And after many difficulties, and loſſe of diuers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Caſtle of *Tenechbray*, his enemies with much adoe, were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the ſame day, by Computation (wherein forty yeares before) *Normandy* ouer-came *England*; ſuch are the turnings in the affaires of men. England wins Normandy.

And here *Robert*, who ſtood in a faire poſſibility of two Crownes, came to bee deprined of his Dutchy and all hee had, brought priſoner into *England*, and committed to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his miſery, hee had the miſtortune of a long life (ſurtiuing after he loſt himſelfe 26. yeares) whereof the moſt part he ſaw not, hauing his eyes put out, whereby he was onely left to his thoughts, a puniſhment barbarouſly inflicted on him, for attempting an eſcape. *Roberi* Duke of Normandy is impriſoned by King *Hen.*

He was a Prince, that gaue out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Nobleneſſe and valour, eſpecially in his great voyage, wherein hee had the ſecond command, and was in election to haue beene the firſt preferred to the Crowne of *Ieruſalem*, and miſſed it hardly. Onely the diſobedience in his youth ſhewed to his Father (which yet might proceed from a rough hand borne ouer him, and the animation of others, rather then his owne Nature) ſets a ſtaine vpon him: and then, his profuſion (which ſome would haue liberality) ſhewed his impotency, and put him into thoſe courſes that ouerthrew him. All the Reuenues of his Dutchy, which ſhould ſerue for his maintenance, hee ſold or engaged, and was vpon paſſing the Citty of *Roan* vnto the Cittizens, which made him held vnfit for the gouernment, and gaue occaſion to his Brother to quarrell with him. 1106. *Anno Reg. 7.*

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an abſolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treaſure, & entertained good intelligence with the Neighbout Princes. *Scotland*, by his Match, and doing their Princes good, he held from doing him hurt; clearing them from vſurpations. *Wales*, though vnder his Title, yet not ſubiection, gaue him ſome exerciſe of action; which he ordered with great wiſedome. Firſt he planted within the body of that Countrey, a Colony of Flemings, who at that time much peſtred this Kingdome: being admitted heere in the reigne of King *William* the firſt, marrying their Country-woman, and vſing their helpe in the action of *England*; where they dayly encreaſed, in ſuch ſort, as gaue great diſpleaſure to the people. By this meanes, both that grieuance was eaſed, and the vſe of them made profitable to the State: for being ſo great a number, and a ſtrong people, they made roome for themſelues, and held it in that ſort, as they kept the *Welsh*, all about them, in very good awe. Beſides, the King tooke for hoſtages the chiefe mens ſonnes of the Country, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he ſtood ſecure, ſo long as *Philip* the firſt liued: who, wholly giuen ouer to his eaſe and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that courſe: but his ſonne he was to looke vnto, whenſoeuer he came to that Crowne. King *Henry* Duke of Normandy.

With the Earle of *Flanders* he had ſome debate, but it was onely in words, and vpon this occaſion. King *William* the firſt, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldwin* the fift had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gaue him yearely three hundred markes, and likewiſe continued it to his ſonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning empty from the Holy warres, and finding this ſumme paide out of *England* to his Predeceſſors, demaunds the ſame of King *Henry*, as his due; who not eaſie to part with money, ſends him word; That it was not the cuſtome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gaue penſions, they were 1107. *Anno Reg. 8.*

temporary, and according to deſert. Which anſwere ſo much diſpleaſed the Earle, that though himſelfe liued not to ſhew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward *William*, the ſon of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recouery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, againſt King *Henry*.

Thus ſtood this King in the firſt part of his reigne: in the other, hee had more to doe abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wiſdome ſo ſetled the gouernment, as it held a ſteady courſe without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Groſſe*, ſucceeding his father *Philip* the firſt, gaue him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes one; taking occaſion about the Citty of *Giſors*, ſcituate on the Riuer *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilſt *Louys* was trauailed with a ſtubborne Nobility, preſuming vpon their Franchiſes, within their owne Signories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Piſſaux*, *Dammartini*, *Champaigne*, and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee abſolute Lords, without awe of a Maiſter, putting themſelues vnder the protection of *Henry*; who being neere to aſſiſt them, foſtred thoſe humors, which in ſicke bodies moſt ſhew themſelues. But after *Louys*, by yeeres gathering ſtrength, diſſolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiſcations.

King *Henry* quarrels with the King of France.

Now to entertaine theſe two great Princes in worke, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, miniſtred freſh occaſion. The Emperor *Henry* the fift, hauing (by the Popes inſtigation) banded againſt his Father, *Henry* the fourth who aſſociated him in the Empire, and held him priſoner in that diſtreſſe, as hee died; toucht afterwards with remorſe of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leauies ſixty thouſand foote, and thirty thouſand horſe, for *Italy*; conſtraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo* the fourth had done to *Otho* the ſecond, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of Rome, and made him take his Oath of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, ſo ſoone as *Henry* was departed home, aſſembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and ſhortly after deceaſed. The Emperour, to make himſelfe the ſtronger againſt his ſucceſſors, enters into alliance with the King of England, takes to wife his daughter *Maude*, being but fiue yeares of age. After this, *Calixte* ſon of the Conte *de Burgogne*, comming to be Pope, and being French (vnto their great applauſe) aſſembles a Councell at *Reimes*; where, by Eccleſiaſticall ſentence, *Henry* the fift is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of England, ſeeing this Councell was held in France, and compoſed chiefely of the *Gallicane* Church, deſirous to ouer-maiſter *Louys*, incenſes his ſonne in law the Emperour (ſtung with this diſgrace) to ſet vpon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one ſide, and he would aſſaile him on the other. The Emperour eaſily wrought to ſuch a buſineſſe, prepares all his beſt forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* ſeeing this ſtorme comming ſo impetuouſly vpon him, wrought ſo with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future miſchiefe of a warre vndertaken in a heate, with the importance of a kind Neighbourhood, aduiſe the Emperour not to enter thereinto, till hee had ſignifyed to the King of *France*, the cauſes of his diſcontent. Whereupon an Embaſſage is diſpatched: The King of *France* anſweres, *That hee grieued much to ſee the two greateſt Pillars of the Church, thus ſhaken with theſe diſſentions, whereby might bee feared, the whole frame would be ruined: that hee was friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concord, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he deſired to extinguiſh, for the good and quiet of Chriſtendome.* This Embaſſage wrought ſo, as it diſarmed the Emperour, glad to haue *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great diſpleaſure of the King of *England*, who expected greater matters to haue riſen by this buſineſſe. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes aduantage, to whom the Emperor yeelds vp the right of inueſtitures of Biſhops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appeaſe, not cure the malady.

1108. *Anno Reg.* 9.

The Popes Oath to the Emperour.

The Emperor *Hen.* 5. marries *Maude*.

Hiſtorie of *France*.

The King of France accords the Pope and Emperour.

The

The King of *England* diſappointed thus of the Emperours aſſiſtance, proceedes notwithſtanding in his intentions againſt *Louys*. And ſeeing he failed of outward forces, he ſets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: aiding *Theobald*, *Conte de Champaigne*, with ſo great power, as he ſtood to doe him much diſpleaſure: beſides, hee obtained a ſtrong ſide in that Kingdome, by his alliances: for *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys*, had married his ſiſter *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandy*) to bee his, by matching his ſonne *William* to his daughter.

King *Henry* aides Conte *Theobald* againſt the king of *France*.

Louys on the other ſide, failes not to practiſe all meanes to vnder-worke *Henries* eſtate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William* Earle of *Flanders*, for the reſtoring of *William*, the ſon of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the ſame appertained by right of inheritance: and had the fairer ſhew of his actions, by taking hold on the ſide of Iuſtice.

The King af *France* combines with the Earle of *Flanders*, againſt King *Henry*.

Great and many were the conflicts betweene theſe two Princes, with the expence of much bloud and charge. But in the end, beeing both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Anion*. And *William*, ſon to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Duchy of *Normandy*: And *William*, the ſon of *Robert Curtoys*, is left to himſelfe, and deſiſts from his claime.

1116. *Anno Reg.* 17.

Vpon the faire cloze of all theſe troubles, there followed preſently an accident, which ſeaſoned it with that ſowerneſſe of griefe, as ouercame all the ioy of the ſucceſſe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at ſeuenteene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ſhip by himſelfe, accompanied with *Richard* his baſe brother, *Mary*, Counteſſe of *Perch*, their ſiſter; *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other perſonages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. beſides 50. Marriners, ſetting out from *Barbfleet*, were all caſt away at ſea, onely a Butcher eſcaped. The Prince had recouered a Cock-boat, and in poſſibility to haue bene ſaued, had not the compaſſion of his ſiſters cryes, drawne him backe to the ſinking ſhip to take her in, and periſh with his company.

Queen *Maud* liued not to ſee this diſaſter

Which ſudden clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all theſe buſtlings ſeemed paſt ouer, might make a conſcience ſhrink with terror, to ſee oppreſſion and ſupplantation repayd with the extinction of that, for which ſo much had bene wrought, and the line Maſculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as if to begin the fate, layd on all the future ſucceſſion hitherunto; wherein the third heire in a right deſcent, ſeldome or neuer enioyed the Crowne of *England*, but that either by vſurpation or extinction of the male bloud, it receiued an alteration:) which may teach Princes to obſerue the wayes of righteouſneſſe, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his prouidence.

After this heauy diſaſter, this King is ſaid neuer to haue bin ſeene to laugh, though within fiue moneths after, in hope to reſtore his iſſue, he married *Adalicia*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Lovaine*, and of the houſe of *Loraine*, but neuer had child by her, nor long reſt from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courſes in *France*. *Normandy* it ſelfe became wauering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew: his great confederates are moſt regayned to the King of *France*: *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion* quarrels for his daughters Dower: *Robert de Mellent*, his chiefe friend and Counſellor, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conſpired with *Hugh* Earle of *Monfort*, and wrought him great trouble.

Robert de Mellents conſpiracie.

1123. *Anno Reg.* 25.

But ſuch was his diligence and working ſpirit, that hee ſoone made whole all thoſe ruptures againe. The two Earles himſelfe ſurprizes; and *Anion*, death: which beeing ſo important a neighbour, as we may ſee, by matching a Prince of *England* there, the King faſtens vpon it with another alliance, and deſcends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and deſired by the Princes of *Lombarby* and *Loraine*) to the now Earle *Geffery Plantagenet*, the ſon of *Foulke*.

Maud the Empreſſe maried to *Geffery Plantagenet*.

1126. *Anno Reg.* 27

The King of *France* to fortifie his oppoſition, entertaines *William* the Nephew, where now all the danger lay: and aides him in perſon, with great power to obtaine the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defaillance of iſſue in the late Earle *Baldouin*, ſlaine in a battell in *France* againſt King *Henry*. But *William*, as

as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule, was depriued, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

And now the whole care of King *Henry*, was the setling of the succession vpon *Maude* (of whom he liued to see two sonnes borne) for which he conuokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein an oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to bee true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritor of the Crowne. This oath was first taken by *Dauid*, King of *Scots*, vncle to *Maude*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Bollogne* and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom he had bestowed great possessions in *England*, and aduanced his brother to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all more fast, this oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

1133. *Anno Reg.* 34.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are saide to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if hee defended himselfe against assaults of his person; which shewed, all was not well within.

His gouernment in peace

His gouernment in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the faire st marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordered, as during all his reigne, which was long, he had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to obserue all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; hauing an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby things were carried with that euenesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all, satisfaction. Hee made diuers progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordred. And for that purpose, whensoeuer he was in *England*, he kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festiuals in seuerall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

The first vse of Progresses.

The beginning of Parliaments. Hee assembles the first Parliament after the Conquest. See Append.

And for that he would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vlcers of dangerous nature) hee tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which he first conuoked at *Salisbury*, *Anno Reg.* 15. and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of *Normandy*, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glory, and security of their posterity.

His reformations.

He was a Prince that liued formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subiects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braueries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the vndecency thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissoluteneſſe. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugality, and warinesse of expence; and his warres being seldome inuasiue, and so not getting, put him often to vse hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, hee obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*) *Anno Reg.* 15. three shillings vpon euery hide-land, but hee had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in *France*.

His meanes to raise monies.

Hee kept Bishoprickes and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of *Canterbury*, fiue yeares together. By an act of Parliament at *London*, *Anno Reg.* 30. hee had permission to punish marriage, and incontinency of Priests, whom (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enioy their wiues: but heereby hee displeased the Clergy, and disappointed that reformation.

Vide Append.

Punishments which were mutilation of member, hee made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long being in *Normandy*, those prouisions for his house, which were vsed to be paide in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and receiued in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subiect; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all shires of *England*, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests,

Tilburiensis de Scaccario.

which

which tooke vp much faire ground of the Kingdome; and beſides renuing former penalties, made an Edict, *That if any man in his owne priuate woods killed the Kings Deere, he ſhould forfeit his woods to the King.* But he permitted them incloſures for Parkes, which vnder him ſeemes to haue had their original', by the example of that of his at *Woodſtocke*, the multitude whereof grew to be afterward a diſeaſe in the Kingdome.

His expences were chiefly in his warres, and his many and great fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodſtocke*, and the great incloſure of that Parke, with a ſtone wall ſeuen miles about. His expences.

The moſt eminent men of his Councell were, *Roger* Biſhop of *Sarum*, and the Earle of *Mellent*, both men of great experience in the affaires of the world. *Roger* was euer as Viceroy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his abſence, which was ſometimes three, and foure yeares together. Hee had managed the Kings money and other affaires of his houſe, when he was a poore Prince, and a priuate man; whereby he gained an eſpeciall truſt with him euer after, and diſcharged his part with great policy and vnderſtanding; had the title of *Iuſticiarius totius Angliæ*. Of whoſe magnificence and ſpacious minde, wee haue more memorials left in notes of ſtone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of this Kingdome. The ruines yet remaining of his ſtately ſtructures, eſpecially that of the *Deuiſes* in *Wilſhire*, ſhewes vs the carkaſſe of a moſt *Roman*-like Fabricke. Beſides, hee built the Caſtles of *Malmsbury* and *Shirburne*, two ſtrong and ſumptuous peeces: new walled and repaired the Caſtle of *Salisbury*, and all theſe he liued to ſee rent from him, and ſeaſed into the next Kings hands, as beeing things done out of his part, and lie now deformed heapes of rubble. Beſides, he walled old *Salisbury*, and repaired the Church there. His Counſellors.

The magnificent buildings of *Roger* Biſhop of *Sarum*.

Robert Earle of *Mellent*, was the ſon of *Roger Beaumont*; who of all the great men which followed *William* the firſt in his ciuill warres of *Normandy*, refuſed to attend him in his expedition for *England*, though with large promiſes inuited thereunto, ſaying; *The inheritance left him by his predeceſſors, was ſufficient to maintaine his eſtate at home; and he deſired not to thruſt himſelfe into other mens poſſeſſions abroad.* But his Son *Robert* was of another minde, and had a mighty eſtate both in *England* and *Normandy*. Was a man of great direction in Counſell, and euer vſed in all the weighty affaires of the State. His frugality, both in apparell and diet, was of ſuch example, being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in thoſe dayes. But in the end hee fell into diſgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) oppoſed againſt the King, and dyed bereft of his eſtate. *Robert Mellent* an eſpeciall Counſellor to *Hen.* 1.

The example of frugality in great men doth much good in a Kingdome.

Beſides theſe, this King was ſerued with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his ſpirit led to affect thoſe great deſignes of his in *France*, for the preſeruation of his ſtate in *Normandy*. Whither in the 32 yeere of his reigne, he makes his laſt voyage to die there; and in his paſſage thither, happened an exceeding great Eclips of the Sunne, which was taken to fore-ſignifie his death; for that it followed ſhortly after in the thirty fiue yeare of his reigne. King *Henries* death.

He was of a gracefull perſonage, quicke-eyed, browne haire (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a cloſe compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more ſolide conſtitution, with better ordered affections. Hee had, in his youth, ſome taſte of learning; but onely, as if to ſet his ſtomacke, not to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his ſubiects into the faſhion of the booke, and diuers learned men flouriſhed in his time. His perſonage

He had by *Maude* his wife the daughter of *Malcolin* the third, King of *Scotland*, none other children but *Maude* and *William*, of whom any certaine mention is made: but hee is ſaid to haue had of children illegitimate ſeuen ſonnes, and as many daughters, which ſhewes vs his incontinencie: two of which ſonnes of moſt eſpeciall note, *Robert* and *Raynold* were Earles, the one of *Gloceſter* (a great Champion and defender of his ſiſter *Maude* the Empreſſe) the other Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Caſtle-combe*. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *France* and *England*, from whom deſcended many worthy Families, as diuers Writers report. His iſſue.

The end of the Life, and reigne, of Henry the firſt.

The

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

1135. *Anno Reg.* 1.

THE Line *Maſculine* of the *Norman* extinct, and onely a daughter left, and ſhee married a *French-man*, *Stephen* Earle of *Bologne* and *Mortagne*, ſonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, and of *Adela* daughter to *William* the firſt, was (notwithſtanding the former oath taken for *Maud*) elected by the State and inueſted in the Crowne of *England*, within thirty dayes after the death of *Henry*. Vpon what reaſons of Counſell, we muſt gather out of the circumſtances of the courſes held in that time.

Reaſons why *Maude* was not crowned.

Some imagine, *The State refuſed* Maude, *for not being then the cuſtome of any other Kingdome Chriſtian (whoſe Kings are annoynted) to admit women to inherit the Crowne*; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath, as being vnlawfull. But *Roger*, Biſhop of *Salisburie*, one of the principall men then in counſell, yeelded another reaſon for the diſcharge of this oath, which was, *That ſeeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, and without the conſent thereof, they might lawfully refuſe her.* And ſo was *Stephen*, hauing no title at all, but as one of the bloud, by meere election, aduanced to the Crowne. For if he ſhould claime any right in the Succeſſion, as being the ſonne of *Adela*, then muſt *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, his elder brother, haue beene preferred before him: and *Henry Fitz Empreſſe* (if they refuſed the Mother) was neerer in bloud to the right Stem, then either. But they had other reaſons that ruled that time.

Reaſons why *Stephen* Earle of Bullogne was crowned King.

Stephen *was a man, and of great poſſeſſions, both in* England *and* France, *had one brother Earle of* Blois, *a Prince of great eſtate: another*, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter (*the Popes Legat in* England, *of power eminent*) *was populer for his affabilitie, goodly perſonage, and actiueneſſe*: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergie; and they (by the working of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, induced to make choice of him) hauing an opinion, that by preferring one, whoſe Title was leaſt, would make his obligation the more to them: and ſo, they might ſtand better (ſecured of their liberties) then vnder ſuch a one, as might preſume of an hereditary ſucceſſion. And to be the more ſure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne he takes a priuate oath before the Biſhop of *Canterburie*, *to confirme the ancient liberties of the Church*; and had his brother to vndertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

King *Stephen* poſſeſſes the Treaſure of *Hen.* 1.

But being now in the poſſeſſion of the kingdome, and all the treaſure his Vncle had in many yeeres gathered, which amounted to *one hundred thouſand pounds of exquiſite ſiluer, beſides plate and iewels, of ineſtimable value*: after the funerals performed at *Reading*, hee aſſembles a Parliament at *Oxford*, wherein, *hee reſtored to the Clergie, all their former liberties, and freed the Laity from their tributes, exactions, or whatſoeuer grieuances oppreſt them*, confirming the ſame by his Charter, which faithfully to obſerue, he tooke a publique oath before all the Aſſembly: where, likewiſe the Biſhops ſwore fealty vnto him, but with this condition; *So long as hee obſerued the Tenour of this Charter.*

His firſt Parliament at Oxford.

And now as one that was to make good the hold hee had gotten, with power, and his ſword, prepares for all aſſaults, which he was ſure to haue come vpon him. And firſt grants licence, to all that would, *to build Caſtles vpon their owne Lands*, thereby to fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any ouer-running inuaſion, that ſhould maſter the field: Which in ſetled times might be of good effect, but in a ſeaſon of diſtraction, and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to ſubſiſt by friends, he makes all he could; *Creates new Lords, gines to many great poſſeſſions, and hauing a full purſe ſpares for no coſt to buy loue, and fidelitie*: a purchaſe very vncertaine when there may be other conueyances made of more ſtrength to carry it.

Two wayes hee was to looke for blowes: from *Scotland* on one ſide, and *France* on the other: *Scotland* wanted no inſtigations: *David* their King, mooued both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head vpon him: *Stephen* was preſently there, with the

the ſhew of a ſtrong Army, and appeaſed him with the reſtitution of *Cumberland*, and his ſonne *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, with the Earledome of *Huntingdon*: which, with that of *Northumberland* (as Scottiſh writers ſay) was to deſcend vnto him by the right of his Mother *Maude*, who was daughter to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, and of *Iudith* Neece to *William* the firſt, by whoſe gift he had that Earledome, and was the ſonne of *Syward* Earle of *Northumberland*. And for this the Prince of *Scotland*, tooke his Oath of fealty to King *Stephen* which the father refuſed to doe, as hauing firſt ſworne to *Maude* the Empreſſe. Though otherwiſe hee might bee indifferent, in reſpect that *Stephen* had married likewiſe his Neece, which was *Maude* daughter to the Earle of *Bologne*, and of *Mary* Siſter to this King *Dauid*, who by this meane was Vncle both to *Maude* the Queene, and *Maude* the Empreſſe.

The King, returning from this voyage, found ſome defection of his Nobilitie, which preſently put him into another action, that entertayned him ſometime: After which, hee falls dangerouſly ſicke, in ſo much as hee was noyſed to bee dead, by which ſickneſſe, hee loſt more then his health: For his friends, put in danger thereby, caſt to ſeeke another partie to beare them vp: it wakened *Anion*, and ſets him on to ſurprize certaine peeces in *Normandie*, to prepare for the recouerie of his Wiues right, and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his firſt yeere ſpent, which ſhewed how the reſt of eighteene would prooue, wherein wee are to haue no other repreſentations, *But of reuolts, beſeeging of Caſtles, ſurprizings, recouerings, loſings againe, with great ſpoyles, and deſtruction*, in briefe, a moſt miſerable face of a diſtracted State, that can yeeld vs no other notes of inſtruction, but ſuch as are generall in all times of like diſpoſition; and therefore herein wee may the better forbeare the rehearſall of many particulars, being all vnder one head of action, and like Nature.

The King, hauing recouered, would make the world know hee was aliue, and preſently paſſes with forces into *Normandie*, ouercame the Earle of *Anion* in battaile: after makes peace with him, and vpon renouncing of the claime of *Maude*, *conenants to giue them* 5000 *marks* per annum. he entertaines amitie with King *Lewis* the ſeuenth, and cauſes his ſonne *Euſtace* to doe him homage for the Dutchy of *Normandie*, wherein he was inuested; peraduenture, to content his elder brother *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, hee giues him *a penſion of* 5000. *marks*, and ſo returnes againe into *England*, to a warre againſt *Scotland*, which, in the meane time, made incurſions on this Kingdome; where whilſt hee was held buſie in worke, *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, baſe ſonne to *Henry* the firſt, a man of high ſpirit, great direction, and indefatigable induſtry (an eſpeciall actor in that performed the greateſt part, in theſe times, for his ſiſter *Maude*) had ſurprized the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, and procured confederates to make good other peeces abroade in diuers parts: as *William Talbot* the Caſtle of *Hereford*, *Payne* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*; *Lord* that of *Cary*, *Reyner* the Caſtle of *Dunſter*: *Robert de Newbut*, that of *Warham*, *Euſtace Fitz. Iohn* that of *Wilton*, and *William Fitz. Allan* the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*.

Stephen leaues the proſecution of the *Scottiſh* warres to *Thurſtan* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom hee made his Lieutenant, and furniſhed with many valiant Leaders, as *Walter* Earle of *Albemarle*, *William Peuerell* of *Nottingham*, *Walter* and *Gilbert Laciet*: whoſe braueries attended, bends all his power to repreſſe the conſpirators, which hee did in one expedition, recouers all the Caſtles (by reaſon of their diſtance, not able to ſuccour one another) and draue the Earle of *Glocester* home to his ſiſter into *Anion*.

No leſſe ſucceſſe had his forces in the North, againſt the *Scots*, whom in a great battaile they diſcomfited and put to flight: Which great fortunes meeting together in one yeere, brought foorth occaſion of bad, in that following: for now preſuming more of himſelfe, he fell vpon thoſe rockes that rent all his greatneſſe. He calls a Councell at *Oxford*, where occaſion was giuen to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely ſet him into the State. The Biſhops vpon the permiſſion of building Caſtles, ſo out-went the Lords in magnificence, ſtrength, and number of their erections, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *Saliſburie*, that their greatneſſe was much maligned by

1137. *Anno Reg.* 2.

Robert Earle of Glocester the naturall ſonne of *Henry* the firſt.

King *Stephen* repreſſes the conſpirators.

He defeited the Scots.

1138. *Anno Reg.* 3.

1140. *Anno Reg. 5.*

by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of *Salisburie*, the *Vies*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newarke*, were onely to entertaine the parrie of *Maude*: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to *Oxford*. The Bishop, as if foreseeing the mischiefe comming to him, would gladly haue put off this iourney, and excused it by the debilitie of his age, but it would not serue his turne: thither he comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of lodgings, quarrell with the seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his seruants: The satisfaction required, was *the yeelding vp the keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealtie*; but that being stood vpon, the Bishop, with his Nephew, *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, were restrayned of their libertie, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Deuises*, whither (the Bishop of *Eley*, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and after three daies assault, the *Deuises* was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted, to forty thousand markes.

The King seizes vpon the Bishops Castles, and Treasure.

This action, being of an extraordinary straine, gaue much occasion of rumour; some said: *The King had done well in seizing vpon these Castles; it being vnfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace, should raise fortresses for warre, and in that sort as might be preiudiciall to the King.* Against this, was the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a Brother: saying: *That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King, but the Canons, that must iudge it; that they ought not to be deprined of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of iustice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had beene built vpon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay men, little affected to Religion.* And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might bee examined, hee appoints a Councell to bee called at *Winchester*, whither the King is summoned, and thither repaire most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope *Innocent* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who there openly vrges the indignitie offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: *An act most haynous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euill ministers, would thus lay hands vpon such men, spoyle them of their estates: Which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions; he had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to bee done: that for his part, neither the loue of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his liuing, or danger of his life, should make him fayle in the execution of what they should decree.*

The Popes Legat a Bishop, takes part with Bishops against the King his brother. *Malmesburie.*

The King, standing vpon his cause, sends certaine Earles to this Councell, to know why hee was called thither: Answere was made by the Legat: *That the King, who was subiect to the Faith of* CHRIST, *ought not to take it ill, if by the ministers of* CHRIST, *hee was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not known: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and deprined of their possessions; and therefore they should tell the King, his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld a consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neither the* Roman *Church, the Court of the King of* France, *nor the Earle* Theobald, *brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe aduisedly to render the reason of his acte, and vndergoe a Canonicall iudgement: that hee ought in duety to fauour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, hee was aduanced to the Crowne without any military hand.*

The Kings Reply.

With which answere the Earles departed, attended with *Alberic de Ver*, a man exercised in the Law; and hauing related the same, are returned with the Kings reply: which *Alberic* vtters, *and vrges the iniuries Bishop* Roger *had done to the King: how hee sole dome came to his Court: that his men, presuming vpon his power, had offred violence to the Nephew and seruants of the Earle of* Brittaine, *and to the seruants of* Herui de Lyons, *a man of*

that

that Nobilitie and ſtoutneſſe, as would neuer vouſafe to come vpon any requeſt to the late King, and yet for the loue of this, was deſirours to ſee England: *where, to haue this violence offred, was an iniury to the King, and diſhonour to the Realme; that the Biſhop of* Lincolne, *for the ancient hatred to the Earle of* Brittaine, *was the author of his mens ſedition: that the Biſhop of* Salisbury *ſecretly fauoured the Kings enemies: and did but ſubtlely temporize, as the King had found by diuers circumſtances: eſpecially when* Roger de Mortimer, *ſent with the Kings forces in the great danger of* Briſtow, *he would not lodge him one night in* Malemsbury: *that it was in euery mans mouth, as ſoone as the Empreſſe came, He and his Nephewes would render their Caſtles vnto him. That he was arreſted, not as a Biſhop, but a ſeruant to the King, and one that adminiſtred his procurations, and receiued his monies. That the King tooke not his Caſtles by violence, but the Biſhop voluntarily rendred them, to auoyd the calumnie of their tumult rayſed in his Court: If the King found ſome money in his Caſtles, he might lawfully ſeize on it, inregard* Roger *had collected it out of the reuennes of the King his Vncle, and predeceſſor: and the Biſhop willingly yeelded vp the ſame, as well as his Caſtles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witneſſes of the Kings part, who deſired that the conenants, made betweene him, and the Biſhop, might remaine ratified.*

Againſt this, Biſhop *Roger* opposes: *That he was neuer ſeruant to the King, nor receiued his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not iuſtice for his wrongs in that Councell, he would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.*

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, ſaid: *That all what was ſpoken againſt the Biſhops, ought firſt to bee examined in the Eccleſiaſticall Councell whether they were true or no, before ſentence ſhould haue beene giuen againſt them contrary to the Canons: and therefore the King ſhould (as it is lawfull in iudiciall trials) reneſt the Biſhops in their former Eſtates, otherwiſe, by the law of Nations being diſſeiſed, they ſhall not hold their Plea.*

After much debate, the Kings cauſe was (vpon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, an eſpeciall inſtrument for the King, might bee there; who deliuering his opinion, ſayd: *That if the Biſhops could rightly proone by the Canons, they ought to haue Caſtles, they ſhould hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to ſtriue to doe otherwiſe. And be it (ſaid he) their right to haue them; yet in a ſuſpected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliuer the keyes of their Fortreſſes, to be at the Kings pleaſure, who is to to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right, by the decree of the Canons, to haue Caſtles; and if by the Princes indulgence it bee tollerated, yet in a time of neceſſitie, they ought to deliuer the keyes.*

The Lawier *Alberic* addes: *That it was ſignified to the King, how the Biſhops threatned, and had furniſhed ſome to go to Rome againſt him. But, ſayd he, the King would haue you know, that none of you preſume to doe it: for if any gee out of England, contrarie to his will, and the dignitie of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning.* In concluſion the Councell brake vp, nothing was done. The Biſhops durſt not excommunicate the King, without the Popes priuitie: and beſides, they ſaw the ſwords too buſie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Archbiſhop to proſecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete, in his Chamber) *beſought him, that hee would pittie the Church, pittie his owne ſoule, and his fame; not to ſuffer diſſention to be, betweene the Kingdome, and the Prieſt-hood.* The King returned them faire words, but held what hee had gotten.

The Legats and Archbiſhops ſubmiſſion.

Shortly after, through griefe, died the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and (according to the fate of ouer-eminent and greedy Officers) vnpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and vnſatiable deſire of hauing. For whom, the preſent King in the beginning of his reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellor, the other Treaſurer, and vpon his ſuite, gaue to himſelfe the Borough of *Malmsbury*; inſomuch as the King would ſay to his familiars about him: *If this man will begge thus ſtill, I will giue him halfe the Kingdome but I will pleaſe him: and firſt ſhall he bee weary of craning, ere I of granting.* And ſure the King had great reaſon to ſuſpect his adhering to *Maude*, whoſe part he beganne to fauour: onely, out of the hatred he bare to *Winchester*; who yet was content to forſake his owne brother, in regard, by

his ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to loſe his good will, and the reſt of the Clergy.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) vtterly diſſolued him. For preſently hereupon all his power fell aſunder: the Empreſſe found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* preſuming of a ſure ſide, conducted her into *England* onely with 150. men: puts her into the Caſtle of *Arundell*, and himſelfe (attended but with twelue horſe) paſſed away cleere through all the Country to *Briſtow*: and from thence to *Gloceſter*, where he had leiſure without oppoſition, to raiſe all the Country to take part with the Empreſſe; who, from *Arundell* Caſtle, was afterward (by the Legate himſelfe, and the Kings permiſſion) conueyed to *Briſtow*: receiued with all obedience, grew daily in ſtrength as ſhe went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himſelfe ſtrong with the Welſh, and ſetled thoſe parts) to gather vp more of the Kingdome by ſhewing herſelfe and her power in diuers places.

Maude the Empreſſe conducted into England.

Stephen, hauing no part cleere (by reaſon the Caſtles, vpon which hee ſpent both his time and meanes, lay ſo thicke blockes in his way) as he could not make that ſpeed to ſtop this ſtreame, as otherwiſe he would: holding it not ſafe to goe forward, and leaue dangers behinde, that might ouer-take him. And firſt hee layes ſiege to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, which, *Brian* ſonne to the Earle of *Gloceſter*, held againſt him: then to the Caſtle of *Briſtow* and other places, working much, but effecting little: which ſeeing, to get time and ſtagger the ſwift proceeding of this new receiued Princeſſe, he cauſes a treatie of peace to be propounded at *Bathe*, where the Legat (who likewiſe earneſtly ſolicited the ſame) with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*, were appointed Commiſſioners for the King; and the Earle of *Gloceſter* for the Empreſſe; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their ſides. The Empreſſe ſeekes to recouer more, the King what he had loſt. And leſt the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, hee repaires thitherward: and finding the Caſtle of *Lincolne* poſſeſt by *Ralph* Earle of Cheſter, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and holding it not ſafe to bee in the hands of ſuch a Maiſter, in ſuch a time, ſeekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Cheſter*, who held newtrall, attempting nothing againſt the King, tooke it ill, and ſtood vpon his defence: but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himſelfe out of the Caſtle, leaues his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his father in law the Earle of *Gloceſter*, to ſuccour him.

The Earle takes in hand this buſineſſes, ſets out of *Gloceſter* with an Army of *Welſhmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Biged*, and *Robert de Merley*, ioynes with the Earle of *Cheſter*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* was taken, carried priſoner to *Gloceſter*, preſented to the Empreſſe, and by her ſent to bee kept in the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, but in all honourable faſhion, till his attemps to eſcape layd fetters on him.

She labours the Legat for the Crowne of England.

Hereupon the Empreſſe (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat *to bee admitted to the Kingdome, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for ſoueraigne in the ſucceſſion*; and wrought ſo, as a Parle was appointed for this purpoſe, on the Plaine neere to *Wincheſter*, where in a bluſtring ſad day (like the fate of the buſineſſe) they met: and the Empreſſe ſwore, and made affidation to the Legat, *That all the great buſineſſes, and eſpecially the donation of Biſhoprikes and Abbeys, ſhould be at his diſpoſing, if he (with the Church) would receiue her as Queene of* England, *and hold perpetuall fidelitie vnto her.* The ſame oath and affidation tooke likewiſe her brother *Robert*, Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Brian* his ſonne, Marquiſſe of *Wallingford*; *Miles* of *Gloceſter* (after Earle of *Hereford*) which many others for her. Nor did the Biſhop ſticke to accept her as Queene (though ſhe neuer came to bee ſo) and with ſome few other, made likewiſe affidation for his parr, that ſo long as ſhee infringed not her couenant, hee would alſo hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, ſhee was receiued with ſolemne proceſſion into the Biſhops Church at Wincheſter, the Biſhop leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard* Biſhop of Saint *Davids* on the left. There were preſent many other Biſhops, as *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne*,

Lincolne, and *Nigel* Biſhop of *Ely* (the Nephewes of *Roger*, lately impriſoned) *Robert* Biſhop of *Bathe*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with many Abbots.

Within a few dayes after came *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Empreſſe, inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty vnto her, as holding it vnworthy his perſon and place, without hauing conferred firſt with the King. And therefore hee, with many Prelats, and ſome of the Layety (by permiſſion obtained) went to the King to *Briſtow*. The Councell brake vp, the Empreſſe keepes her Eaſter at Oxford, being her owne town. Shortly vpon Eaſter a Councell of the Clergie is againe called to *Wincheſter*, where the firſt day the Legat had ſecret conference with euery Biſhop apart, and then with euery Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day hee makes a publike ſpeech, *Shewing how the cauſe (of their Aſſembly) was to conſult for the peace of their country, in great danger of vtter ruine. Repentes the flouriſhing reigne of his Vncle, the peace, wealth, and honour of the Kingdome in his time: and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death, had receiued an oath both of* England *and* Normandy, *for the ſucceſſion of his daughter* Maude *and her Iſſue. But*, ſayth he, *after his deceaſe, his daughter being then in* Normandy, *making delay to come into* England, *where (for that it ſeemed long to expect) order was to bee taken for the peace of the Countrey, and my brother was permitted to reigne. And although I interpoſed my ſelfe a ſurety betweene God and him, that hee ſhould honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how he hath behaued himſelfe in the Kingdome, it grieues mee to remember, and I am aſhamed to repeate.* And then recounts he all the Kings courſes with the Biſhops, and all his other miſgouernments. And then, ſaid hee, *euerie man knowes I ought to loue my mortall brother, but much more the cauſe of my immortall Father: and therefore ſeeing God hath ſhewed his iudgement on my brother, and ſuffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the Kingdome may not miſcarrie for want of a Ruler, I haue called you all hither by the power of my Legation Yeſterday the cauſe was moued in ſecret, to the greateſt part of the Clergie, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after hauing inuoked (as it is meete,) the Diuine aide, Wee elect for Queene of* England *the daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, good, and in our time the incomparable King: and to her, wee promiſe our faith and allegiance.*

The Legats ſpeech to the Clergie, to Crowne the Empreſſe.

When all, who were preſent, either modeſtly gaue their voyce, or by their ſilence contradicted it, the Legat addes: *The* Londoners, *who are (in reſpect of the greatneſſe of their Citty) as among the optimacie of* England, *we haue by our meſſengers ſummoned, and I truſt they will not ſtay beyond this day, to morrow we will expect them.*

The *Londoners* came, were brought into the Councell, ſhewed *How they were ſent from the Communaltie of* London, *not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captiuitie, and the ſame did all the Barons (receiued within their Liberties) earneſtly beſeech of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergie there preſent.* The Legat anſweres them at large, and loftily, according to his ſpeech the day before, and added, *That the* Londoners, *who were held in that degree in* England, *ought not to take their parts, who had forſaken their Lord in the warre, by whoſe Councell the Church had beene diſhonoured, and who fauoured the* Londoners, *but for their owne gaine.*

Then ſtands there vp a Chaplaine to Queene *Maude*, wife to *Stephen*, and deliuers a letter to the Legat, which he ſilently read, and then ſaid alowd, *That it was not lawfull in the aſſembly of ſo many reuerend and religious perſons the ſame ſhould be publikely read, containing matter reprehenſible.* The Chaplaine nor to faile in his meſſage, boldly reades the Letter himſelfe, which was to this effect: *That the Queene earneſtly intreates all the Clergie there aſſembled, and namely the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *the brother of her Lord, to reſtore him vnto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were alſo his ſubiects, held priſoner.*

To this the Legat anſweres (as to the *Londoners*) and ſhortly after the Councell brake vp, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely *William Martell*, an eſpeciall man about the King, who had much diſpleaſed the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of *England* willingly accepted of *Maude*, in whoſe buſineſſes her brother *Robert* imployes all his diligence and beſt care, *reforming Iuſtice, reſtoring*

the Lawes of England, *promising releeuements, and whatsoeuer might be to winne the people*; the Legat seconding all his courses.

But now, shee being at the point of obtaining the whole Kingdome; all came sodainly dasht by her ouer-hautie and proud carriage, and by the practise of the *Londoners*, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inueigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their Citie; whereof she hauing notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vncle *Danid* King of *Scots*, who was come to visit her and her brother *Robert*) vnto *Oxford*, a place of more securitie. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to be slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a suite for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritance of his Eareledome of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all oportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, *Sets vpon him with her teares, intreatie, promises, and assurance for the Kings reformation*; in so much as *she recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolue such of the Kings part as he had lately excommunicated.*

The Legat leaues the Empresse.

Is intreated with teares by the Queene regnant.

The Earle of *Gloucester* seeing this sodaine and strange relaps of their affaires, striues by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition, which to keepe sound, was all. He brings the Empresse to *Winchester*, settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene *Maude* and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of *Gloucester* wrought meanes to haue her conueyd from thence to the *Vies*, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

The Empresse besieged at Oxford, the Earle of Gloucester taken prisoner.

This sets the sides both euen againe into the Lists of their triall: the two prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euonnesse of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings deliuery (who onely in that was to haue the precedence) but vpon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Legate, vndertooke to yeeld themselues prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serue the turne, till they both had written their Briefes to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken herein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might releeue them. Which shewes the aduantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to haue his fetters, though at liberty.

1142. *Anno Reg.* 7.

The Queene and *Eustace*, her sonne the Prince, vpon the inlargement of *Stephen*, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Bristow* till the Earle were released, which was done vpon the Kings comming to *Winchester*. Where the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the partie of *Maude*, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could mooue him being fixt to his courses, and rather would hee haue beene content to remaine a perpetuall prisoner, then that *Stephen* should haue beene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calles a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written vnto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse all meanes Ecclesiasticall, and Secular, to set him at libertie. *Vide* Append.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaines, *How his subiects, to whome hee had neuer denied Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him euen to death.* The Legate, with great eloquence, labours to excuse his owne courses: alledging, *How hee receiued not the Empresse by his will, but necessitie: that presently vpon the Kings ouerthrow, whilest the Lords were either fled, or stood in suspence attending the euent, shee and her people came thundring to the walles of* Winchester: *and that, what pact soeuer hee had made with her for the right of the Church, shee absolutely brake all: besides, hee was certainely informed, that shee and hers had plotted both against his dignitie, and life:*

King *Stephens* complaint.

But

But God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother was delivered out of hands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them with all their vtmost power, to ayde the King, annoynted by the consent of the People and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that favoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empresse, who openly charged the Legat, *That in respect of the faith he had given the Empresse, to passe no act there preiudiciall to her Honour: having sworne vnto her never to ayde his brother with above twenty souldiers: that her comming into* England, *was vpon his often Letters vnto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner.* This, and much more said the Agent with great austerity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to be moued at all, nor would stoope to replie.

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselues, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keepe them asunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be sauers or to recouer their stakes when they were lost, which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertaine the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then warres, and cost more labour then bloud. Euery one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone haue ended the businesse.

Some few moneths after these inlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empresse at the *Vies* with her Councell, resolues to send ouer her brother into *Normandy* to solicite her husband the Earle of *Anion*, to come to ayd her with forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence, setles her in the Castle of *Oxford*, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the sons of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. *Stephen* seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of *Oxford*; which held him all the time the Earle was abroad. *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion*, desirous rather to haue *Normandy* (whereof, in this meane time, he had attained the most part, and in possibility of the rest) then to aduenture for *England*, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne *Henry*, being then but eleuen yeeres of age, that he might looke vpon *England*, and be shewed to the people, to trie if that would mooue them to a consideration of his right: which prooued of more effect then an Army.

The Earle of *Gloucester* gets to *Normandy*.

The Earle of *Gloucester* safely returning, makes towards *Oxford* to relieue the Empresse, who had secretly conueyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne gate, onely with foure persons, got ouer the Thames, passed on foot to *Abington*, & from thence conueied to *Wallingford*, where her brother and son met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

The Earles returne with the Empresses eldest sonne *Henry*.

Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but money failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of *Flanders*, to fall to the rifling of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes; onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they being so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

1143. *Anno Reg.* 8.

The Earle of *Gloucester* dies.

The Earle of *Gloucester*, the chiefe pillar of the Empresse, within two yeares after his last comming out of *Normandy* died, and shortly after *Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, an especiall man of hers, which had vtterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother shee had a son grew vp to bee of more estimation with the Nobility, and shortly after of ableneſse to vndergoe the trauailes of warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *David* King of *Scots* his great Vncle, to whom his mother had giuen the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Yorke*, lest hee should surprize that Citie, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsuall manner, and *French*-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, he quailes:

nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

Now to aduance the State and meanes of *Henry*, fortune, as if in loue with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Lewys* the seuenth, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, grew into such an odious conceipt of her, vpon the notice of her lasciuious behauiour in those parts, as the first worke hee doth vpon his comming backe, hee repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mightie estate she brought him, then to enioy her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeares of age, (being now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recouered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poicton*. Whereupon *Lewys* inraged to see him inlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his son (whom hee married to his Sister *Constance*) with maine power, for the recouery of *Normandy*, wherein he was first possest. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the management of the affaires of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandy*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace*, his competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after hee died, about 18 yeares of his age, borne neuer to bee out of the calamities of warre, and was buried at *Feuersham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other ioy nor glory of a Crowne but what we see. *Stephen*, whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recouers what hee could, and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to haue bene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremitie, as they sent to Duke *Henrie* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the middest of Winter, arriues in *England* with 3000 foot, and 140 horse. Where first, to draw the King from *Wallingford*, he layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the West, and from other parts comming in vnto him. *Stephen*, now resolued to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far ouer-went his enemy in number: but flouds and stormes, in an vnseasonable Winter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for them, and the whole State, to haue a young Prince get the maistry by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

An. 1151.

1 *That King* Stephen, *during his naturall life, should remaine King of* England, *and* Henry *enioy the Dukedome of* Normandy, *as descended vnto him from his mother, and be proclaymed heire apparent to the Kingdome of* England, *as the adopted sonne of King* Stephen.

2 *That the partizans of either should receiue no damage, but enioy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.*

Resumptions

3 *That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had beene alienated by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the daies of King* Henry, *should bee restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the said King reigned.*

4 *That all such Castles as had bene built by the permission of* Stephen, *and in his time (which were found to be* 1117) *should be demolished, &c.*

Vide Append.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reseruation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second son of *Stephen*, to enioy all the possessions his father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification, and all businesse here, setled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandie*, and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that hee would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King *Stephen* hauing attained (that hee neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes

seemes, hee enioyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes hee could to repaire the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vp vnder the sword: and after his returne calls a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, he goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Douer*, who desired conference with him, and hauing dispatcht him, falls presently sicke, dies within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at *Feuersham*, with the vnfortunate Princes.

A. 1154. He reigned 18 yeares, and 10 moneths.

A man so continually in motion, as we cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was warre: on the other, wee neuer saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very worthy Prince for the Gouernment. He kept his word with the State concerning the relieuement of Tributes, *and neuer had Subsidy that we finde.*

But which is more remarkeable, hauing his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, *He neuer put any great man to death.* Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of warre, *There were more Abbeys built in his Reigne, then in an hundreth yeares before*, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

THAT short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detained with contrary winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home; or doubtfull, where hee would set his seate: whether carry *England* thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other then the vsuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which he receiued at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentieth day of December, *Anno* 1154, about the three and twentieth yeare of his age. 1154. *Anno Reg.* 1.

And though he were a Prince *Young, Active, Powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming*: yet the necessity of his owne affaires were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the loue, and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Gouernment: being sure to haue the King of *France* perpetually awake, for all aduantages (both in regard of dayly quarrels, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Prouinces from that Crowne, whereby, he comes now to ouer-match him) being thus inuested in this powerfull Kingdome of *England*. Where, after hauing made a choice of graue Counsellors, such as best vnderstood the state thereof; hee began at a Councell or Parliament held at *Wallingford* with an Act (that both serued his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his people) *which was the expulsion of Strangers*, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late warres that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of *Flemings*, and *Picards*, whom King *Stephen* especially trusted in his greatest actions, after he grew doubtfull of the *English* fidelity, and had made their Leader *William d' Ipres*, Earle of *Kent*, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Expulsion of Strangers.

Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subiects, (whose voluntary seruices, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, then if exacted) *He lookes to the State, and ordering of his reuennes, reformes the Exchequer, and reuokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bene alienated, or vsurped.* And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession,

Resumption of Crowne-Lands.

as

as *Hugh de Mortimer* for his Caſtles of *Clebury*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgenorth*: and *Roger Fits Miles*, Earle of *Hereford* for the Citty and Lands of *Gloceſter*: Yet the King tooke them by force as appertaining to the Crowne. Beſides, he reſumed the Caſtle of *Skarborough*, which *William* Earle of *Albemarle* held, and diuers other Lands and Caſtles in *Yorkeſhire*, poſſeſſed by priuate men. *Hugh Bigot* reſigned his Caſtles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from *William* Earle of *Mortaine*, and *Warren*, baſe ſonne to King *Stephen*, the Caſtle of *Pemſey*, the Citty of *Norwitch*: with other Townes and Caſtles, notwithſtanding himſelfe graunted the ſame, in his agreement with *Stephen*; alledging, *They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened.* Only he ſuffered him to enioy ſuch lands, as his father, King *Stephen* held in *England*, in the time of *Henry* the firſt.

Then goes hee Northward, and recouers the Citty of *Carlile*, ſeizes all *Cumberland* into his hands: and after takes the Towne of *New-caſtle*, with the Caſtle of *Bamberge*, and ſo reſumed all *Northumberland*, which his Mother (the Empreſſe) had before granted to *David* King of *Scots*, her Vnkle (Grand-father to *Malcolin*, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to giue away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithſtanding, he was content, *Malcolin* ſhould enioy the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, which King *Stephen* had giuen to *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, father to *Malcolin*, as being a peece in the heart of *England*, whereof he could make no vſe, but at the Kings pleaſure; and beſides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe thoſe ſeruices belonging to that Earledome.

And the ſame courſe tooke he with the Alienations, and vſurpations formerly made of the Demaynes of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and forced *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, to reſigne into his hands, two Caſtles, and *Petroch* Earle of *Perch*, other two. Theſe *renocations*, whereby ſo many were indamaged in their eſtates, *and Grants, both of his Predeceſſors, and his owne vtterly nullified*, might ſeeme, to be an act of great iniuſtice, and in a new Gouernment, of little ſafety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit: and but few (though great) intereſſed, it paſſed as a worke vniuerſally neceſſary, ſeeing his Maintenance otherwiſe, muſt bee made vp out of publicke taxations; which would turne to a generall grieuance. But *the reſuming of the Earledome of* Aniou *out of his brother* Geffryes *hands, contrary to his Oath*, cannot but be held a ſtraine beyond conſcience, and good nature. For his father *Geffrey Plantagenet* deſirous to leaue ſome eſtate to his ſecond ſon *Geffrey*, ordained by his Teſtament, *That when* Henry *had recouered the Kingome of* England, *the other ſhould haue the County of* Aniou: and in the meane time, put *Geffrey* in poſſeſſion of the Caſtles, and Townes of *Chinon*, *Loduu*, and *Mirabell*, whereby he might, both haue maintenance for his eſtate, and a readier meanes to come to the reſt when occaſion ſerued. And *leſt his ſonne* Henry *ſhould not performe this Will, he got certaine Biſhops, and other Nobles to ſweare, that they would not ſuffer his body to be interred, till* Henry, *who was then abſent, had ſworne to fulfill his Teſtament: Henry*, rather then to ſuffer his Fathers body to lye vnburied, *With great vnwillingneſſe takes this oath* But afterward being inueſted in the Crowne of *England*, and *Geffrey* ſeazing vpon the Earledome of *Anion*, he paſſes ouer into *France*, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but alſo thoſe three Townes he had in poſſeſſion; alledging, *It was no reaſon, a forced Oath (vpon ſuch an occaſion) ſhould bind him to forgoe the enheritance of his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony, that was to deſcend vnto him from his Father:) and though he had recouered the Kingdome of* England; *that was not his Fathers worke, but by an other right. And although he held his brother deare vnto him, yet hauing Children of his owne, he was to prouide, that what was his, ſhould deſcend to them.* But yet was content, to allowe his brother an honorable penſion (of a thouſand pounds *Engliſh*, and two thouſand pounds of *Anionin* money yearely) for the maintenance of his eſtate; and obtained of Pope *Adrian* the ſeuenth (an *Engliſh* man borne) a diſpenſation for his Oath, made in this caſe.

The King reſumes the Earledome of *Anion*.

1156. *Anno Reg.* 2.

And now the firſt occaſion, that put him here into action of warre, was the rebellion of the *Welſh*, who, according to their vſuall manner, euer attempted ſome thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their ſpirits, and their owne fortuness

fortunes. Againſt whom hee goes ſo prepared, as if he meant to goe through with his worke. Wherein at firſt, he had much to doe, paſſing a ſtreight among the Mountaines, where he loſt (with many of his men) *Euſtace Fitz Iohn*, and *Robert Curcy*, eminent perſons: and himſelfe noyſed to be ſlaine, ſo much diſcouraged that part of the Army, which had not paſſed the Streights, as *Henry* an Earle of Eſſex, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled: but ſoone, the King made it knowne, hee was aliue, diſcomfited his enemies, and brought them, to ſeeke their peace with ſubmiſſion. The Earle of Eſſex was after accuſed, by *Robert de Monfort* for this miſdeed, had the Combat, was ouercome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be ſhorne a Monke, put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his Lands ſeiſed into the Kings hands.

His firſt expedition into Wales.

Henry de Eſſex.

The puniſhment of Corwardize.

It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, *all his affaires were in proſperous courſe, his State increaſing, his Queene fruitefull, and had borne him three ſonnes in England, Henry, Richard*, and *Geffrey*: his eldſt ſonne *William* (to whom he had cauſed the Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty) died ſhortly after his comming to the Crowne, ſo that now, the ſame Oath is tendred to *Henry*, and all is ſecure and well on this ſide.

1158. *Anno Reg.* 4.

The King of *France*, who would gladly haue impeached the mighty current of this Kings fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne neceſſities: his iourney to the Holy Land, had exhauſted all his Treaſure, and ſince his comming home, the Pope had exacted great ſummes of him for diſpenſing with his ſecond marriage, which was with *Conſtantia* daughter to *Alphonſo*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, ſo that all concurred to increaſe the greatneſſe of this King of *England*; who hauing now almoſt ſurrounded *France* (by poſſeſſing firſt all *Normandy*, with a great footing in *Brittaine*, by the reſignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make vnto him; then the Earledome of *Maine*, *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Anion* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) he alſo laies claime to the rich Earledome of *Tholouſe* vpon this Title:

The reſignation of Nants to the King of England.

William *Duke of* Aquitaine, *grandfather to Queene* Elionor, *married the daughter and heire of the Earle of* Tholouſe, *and going to the holy warres, ingaged that Earledome to* Raymond *Earle of Saint* Gyles, *and neuer returned to redeeme it.* William *his ſonne, father to Queene* Elionor, *either through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewiſe the redemption thereof: ſo that the Earle of* Saint Gyles *continuing in poſſeſſion whilſt hee liued, left it to his ſonne* Raymond, *of whom King* Louys *of France* (*hauing married* Elionor, *the daughter and heire of the laſt* William) *demanded the reſtitution, with tender of the ſumme for which it was ingaged. Raymond* refuſes it, and ſtands to his poſſeſſion, as of *a thing abſolutely ſold or forfeited*; *but being too weake to contend with a King of* France, *fell to an accord, and married his ſiſter* Conſtance, *widdow of* Euſtace *ſonne to King* Stephen, *and ſo continues the poſſeſſion.* Now King *Henry* hauing married this *Elionor*, and with her was to haue all the Rights ſhee had, tenders likewiſe (as the King of *France* had done, in the ſame caſe) *the ſumme formerly diſburſed, vpon the morgage of that Earledome.* And withall makes ready his ſword to recouer it, and firſt combines in league and amity, with ſuch, whoſe Territories bordred vpon it: as with *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Arragon*, a man of great Eſtate in thoſe parts, entertayning him with conference of a match betweene his ſecond ſonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with couenant, *that* Richard *ſhould haue the inheritance of the Dutchy of* Aquitaine, *and the Earledome of* Poictou. Beſides, hee takes into his protection, *William* Lord of *Tranchenille* (poſſeſſing likewiſe) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himſelfe much wronged in his Eſtate, by the Earle of *Tholouſe*.

King *Henries* claime to the Earldome of Tholouſe.

Theſe aydes prepared, he leauies an Army, and goes in perſon to beſiege the Citie of *Tholouſe*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make claime for thoſe other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with ſo many faire words and promiſes of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this warre.

1159. *Anno Reg.* 5.

The

The Earle of *Tholouſe* vnderſtanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craues ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewiſe with a ſtrong Army, comes downe in perſon to ſuccour *Tholouſe*, and was there before the King of *England* could arriue with his forces; whereupon, ſeeing himſelfe preuented, and in diſaduantage, King *Henry* fell to ſpoyling the Countrey, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a ſtrong Garriſon to bridle the *Tholouſains*, and ſo returnes into *Normandy*, gaue the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his forces, and enters the Countrey of *Beamoiſin*, where he deſtroyes many Caſtles, and commits great ſpoyles. And to adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, hee obtained of the Earle *de Auranches*, the two ſtrong Caſtles *Rochfort*, and *Monfort*, which furniſhed with Garriſons, impreached the paſſage twixt *Orleance* and *Paris*; in ſo much as the warre, and weather grew hote betwixt theſe two great Princes, and much effuſion of bloud was like to follow; but that a mediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, *With a match betweene the young Prince* Henry, *not ſeuen yeares of age, and the Lady* Margaret *eldeſt daughter to the King of* France *ſcarce three: weake linkes, to hold in ſo mighty Princes. The yong Lady was deliuered rather as an Oſtage then a Bride, to* Robert de Newburge, *to be kept till her yeares would permit her to liue with her Husband.* In the meane time, notwithſtanding, many ruptures hapned betweene the Parents: *The firſt whereof grew vpon the King of* Englands *getting into his owne hand the Caſtle of* Giſors, *with two other Caſtles vpon the Riuer* Eata, *in the confines of* Normandy: deliuered vp before the due tyme *by three Knights Templars, to whom they were committed in truſt, till the marriage were conſummated.* And this coſt ſome bloud: the Knights Templars are perſecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receiues them.

1160. *Anno Reg.* 6. Prince *Henry* contracted to *Margaret* daughter to the King of *France*.

But now the aduantage of power lying all on this ſide, and the King ſeeing himſelfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatiues of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, ſince the time of *Henry* the firſt, *Were thought to haue inlarged their iuriſdiction beyond their vocation*: and himſelfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all aduantages for themſelues, whereby they depriued his Mother and her iſſue, of their ſucceſſion to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his ſucceſſion ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke his Sword, the Iuſtice of this cauſe, and ſtrong party in the Kingdome. What they did therein ſhewed him rather their power, then their affection: and rather put him in mind of what they had done againſt him at firſt, then layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, ſeeing them apt to ſurpriſe all aduantages for their owne aduancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Poſterity, if they found occaſion: and therefore is he eaſily drawne to abate their power in what he could.

The King ſeekes to abate the power of the Clergy & the cauſe thereof.

To this motion of the Kings diſlike, the Lay Nobility (emulous of the others authority) layed more weights: alledging *how the immunities of the Clergie tooke vp ſo much from the Royalty, as his execution of Iuſtice could haue no generall paſſage in the Kingdome: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority then their owne: and being exempt from Secular puniſhments, many enormious acts were committed by Clergie-men, without any redreſſe to be had*: and it was notified to the King, that ſince the beginning of his Reigne, *There had bene aboue a hundreth Man-ſlaughters committed within the Realme of* England *by Prieſts, and men within Orders.*

Complaints againſt the Clergie.

1161. *Anno Reg.* 7. *Thomas Becket* preferred to the Sea of *Canterbury*.

Now had the King, a little before (vpon the death of *Theobald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and ſeruant of his owne, to that Sea. A man whom firſt, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, he made his Chancelor, and finding *him Diligent, Truſty, and Wiſe*, imployes him in all his greateſt buſineſſes of the State: by which tryall of his ſeruice and fidelity, he might expect to haue him euer the readier to aduance his affaires, vpon all occaſions. And beſides, to ſhew how much he reſpected his worth, and integrity, he commits vnto him *the education of the Prince, a charge of the greateſt conſequence in a Kingdome*, which ſhall bee euer ſure to find their

Kings

Kings as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction is ſet vpon, *a worke (in regard of that time of deuotion) of great difficultie*: the Biſhops hauing from the beginning of Chriſtianitie, firſt vnder the *Saxon* Kings, principally ſwayed the State: and though at the entrance of the *Normans*, they were much abriged of their former liberties, *they held themſelues if not content, yet quiet.* For albeit they had not that power in temporall buſineſſe as before; yet, *within their owne circle, they held their owne iuriſdiction, and immunities: and had ſince, both by the Law, ciuill warres, and the occaſion of forraine affaires, much inlarged them.* So that any reſtriction, or diminution, of the power they had, could not but touch veines that were very ſenſible in that part: eſpecially, *by reaſon of the vniuerſall participation of the Spirit that fed them*: and therefore could not bee but a buſineſſe of much trouble.

The king conuokes a Councell at Weſtminſter, and there firſt propunds to haue it enacted, *That all ſuch of the Clergie as ſhould bee taken and conuicted for any heinous offence, ſhould loſe the priuiledge of the Church, and be deliuered to the ciuill Magiſtrate, to be puniſhed for their offences, as other the Kings ſubiects were.* For, if after ſpirituall puniſhment, no ſecular correction ſhould bee vſed; there would bee no ſufficient meanes to reſtraine them from doing miſchiefe: ſeeing it was not likely, ſuch men would much care for their degrading and loſſe of Orders, whom the Conſcience of their calling did not hold in awe. A Parliament at Weſtminſter. 1163. *Anno Reg.* 9.

The Archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, with the reſt of the Biſhops, ſhewed the king *how they were not to yeeld to an ſuch Act, being againſt the liberties of the Church, which himſelfe had ſworne to defend, and maintayne: and therefore humbly beſought him, that hee would not vrge any thing to the preiudice of their iuriſdiction, and ſuch immunities as they had hitherto enioyed, both vnder him and his Noble Progeniters.*

The king not liking this anſwere demands, *whether they would ſubmit themſelues to the Lawes and cuſtomes, which the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, in the time of his Grandfather* Henry *the firſt did obſerue?* They anſwered, *They would; their Order, the honour of God, and holy Church, in all things ſaued*; with which reſeruation the king grew more diſpleaſed, the Parliament brake vp, and nothing effected at that time, for hee ſaw the Biſhops faſt to themſelues, and the more by the animation of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom hee thought (in regard of all thoſe his graces beſtowed on him) to haue found more yeelding to his courſes, and therefore his indignation was moſt againſt him: and becauſe hee would make him ſee what the diſpleaſure of ſo mightie a king was, who could as well caſt downe as aduance: *Firſt denies him acceſſe: then takes from him what hee could poſſibly; countenances all ſuch as were his oppoſites, his buſineſſes in any the Kings Courts goe againſt him, the Earle of* Clare *is ſupported in a conteſtation hee had with him, about his homage for the Caſtle of* Tunbridge, *and premaniles*: nothing is left vndone, that might bee thought to humble him. And beſides the king wrought ſo, *As hee vnties the knot, gaines firſt the Archbiſhop of* Yorke (*the ancient Competitor with Canterburie in dignity*) *and after, the Biſhops of* Lincolne, Hereford, *and the eſpeciall Prelates: and ſeparates them both from the counſell, and company of the Archbiſhop* Becket.

Notice of this iarre being giuen abroade, a Meſſenger is ſent from the Pope, and all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and *to charge the Archbiſhop to make peace with his Lord the King, and promiſe to obſerue his Lawes without exception.* The Archbiſhop preſſed with this meſſage, and the aduice of many great men, repaires to the king at Woodſtocke, and there *promiſes in good faith*, without any euill meaning, *to obſerue the Kings Lawes ſo farre forth as was required.*

The king ſuppoſing now, things better prepared for his purpoſe then before, calls a generall Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Nobilitie at *Clarendon*, where *Iohn* of Oxford, the kings Clerke was Prefident of the Councell: and a charge is giuen from the king, *That they ſhould call to memorie the Lawes of his Grand-father* Henry *the firſt, and to reduce them into writing*: which being done, hee willed the Arch-biſhoppe and Biſhops, ſo ſet their Seales thereunto. Which when the A Parliament at Clarendon. 1164. *Anno Reg.* 10.

the reſt were content to doe, *the Archbiſhop* Becket *refuſed.* Yet at length, by the perſwaſion of the Biſhops (vrging him to ſatisfie the Kings pleaſure, and appeaſe his wrath, in regard of his preſent danger, which, by the ruſhing vp and downe of the Kings ſeruants with threatning countenances, they ſuſpected themſelues likely to fall into) *He tooke his Oath to obſerue the Kings Lawes without any reſeruation.* And for the writing deſired to haue a copy, as if better to aduiſe thereof. And taking it into his hand, he turnes to the Clergie, and ſaid: *Brethren ſtand faſt, you ſee the malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware.*

The Arch-biſhop *Becket*, takes his oath to obſerue the Kings Lawes.

So the Councell ended, but not the Kings diſpleaſure againſt the Arch-biſhop, whom onely hee found, durſt beare vp againſt his power, the reſt all yeelding thereunto. And therefore proceedes hee, *by all meanes to vexe and diſgrace him, and to aduance his Concurrent the Arch-biſhop of* Yorke, *whom hee ſolicites the Pope* (*by his Agents* Iohn *of* Oxford, *and* Geffrey Riddle) *to make his Legat of all* England. Which the Pope (forewarned, acquainted with this buſineſſe) refuſed to doe: yet at the petition of thoſe Agents, granted *that Legation to the King himſelfe, but ſo as hee ſhould doe nothing to griene the Archbiſhop*; which the King tooke as a great indignity, and ſent backe his Agents with the Popes Grant.

The King vſeth all meanes to vex the Archbiſhop.

The Arch-biſhop *Becket* after his oath at *Clarendon*, ſo repented, as *hee ſuſpended himſelfe from the ſeruice of the Altar, and did ſharpe penance till he had obtained abſolution from the Pope.* Which (vpon his information of the caſe) was ſent him. After this, as ſome write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrarie to *a Law made at* Clarendon (*forbidding Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Perſons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leaue. Which, although they obtayned, yet were notwithſtanding to ſecure the King, neither in their going, returning, or ſtaying there, to practiſe any thing preiudicious to his State or Perſon.*) But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exaſperates the king againſt him.

The Arch-biſhop repents him of his Oath.

After this, he is ſummoned to an Aſſembly at *Northampton* (holden about the ratification of the Acts of *Clarendon*) where (to deſpite him the more) the Kings horſes are placed in his Inne; And there, *Firſt had he a caſe adiudged againſt him, concerning a Manner, for which, one* Iohn *the Kings Marſhall contended with him in Law; and beſides the loſſe of the Manner, was caſt in arrerages fiue hundred Markes*, which the King was ſaid to haue lent him; but he alledged howit was giuen: yet becauſe hee confeſſed the receit, and could not prooue the gift, hee was condemned to pay it. *Then was he called to render an account to the King of all ſuch rentits as in the time of his Chancellorſhip he had receiued for the King, of certaine Biſhoprickes and Abbeys during their vacancies, which amounted to the ſumme of three thouſand Markes.* For theſe accounts, he alledged, *How the King knew well, he was diſcharged before his election to the See of* Canterbury; *and how the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, &* Robert de Lucie, *chiefe Iuſtice of* England *had made him his acquittance for all accounts, & ſecular receits, in the behalfe of the King: & ſo* (*free and cleered*) *was he choſen to the adminiſtration of that office, and therefore would pleade the ſame no more.*

A Parliament at *Northampton.*

The *Arch-biſhop* called to account.

The king, notwithſtanding, vrging to haue iudgement paſſe againſt him, both for this, his late attempts, and diſobedience, hee was commanded the next day to attend his Cenſure. The morning before he was to appeare, hee celebrates early with great deuotion, the Maſſe of Saint *Stephen Protomartyr*, which had theſe words: *Etenim ſederunt Principes, & aduerſum me loquebantur*: and ſo committing his cauſe to God, *ſets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonicall hood, carrying the Croſſe in his right hand, and guiding his horſe with the left.* The people ſeeing him come in this faſhion, flocke all about him; he entring the great Chamber, ſate downe amongſt them, the king being within, in his Priuie Chamber with his Councell: from whom firſt came forth the Biſhop of *London*, and much blames him for comming ſo armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Croſſe out of his hand, but the Archbiſhop held it ſo faſt that he could not. Which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſeeing, ſaid to *London*, *Brother, let him alone, he ought well to beare the Croſſe: London* replies, *you ſpeake brother againſt the King, and it will be ill for you.* After this comes forth the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* (the heate of whoſe ancient hatred, ſaith *Houeden*, would not ſuffer him to ſpeake in peace, and rebukes him very ſharply,

Roger Houeden

for

for comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince: and told him, *that the King had a sword sharper then his Crosse, and if he would be, aduised by him, he should take it from him.* Canterbury replies, *the Kings sword wounds corrupt, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.*

After much debate, the Archbishoppe *Becket* inuayes against this violent proceeding against him: *How no age euer heard before, that an Archbishop of* Canterbury *had beene adiudged in any of the Kings Courts for anie cause whatsoeuer, in regard both of his Dignity and place: and for that hee is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his subiects.* Then to the bishops, *You see the world rageth against mee, the enemy riseth vp, but I more lament, the Sonnes of my Mother fight against mee. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leaue mee alone in the battaile, and become iudges against me, being your Father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your obedience, and perill of your Order, that you bee not present in any place of iudgment, where my person or cause comes to be adiudged. And here I appeale to the Pope:* Charging your farther by vertue of your obedience, *that if any Temporall man lay handes on mee, you excommunicate the Sonnes of the Church; as it becommes you, for your Father the Archbishop, who will not shrinke howsoeuer, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto him.*

Complaints against the Archbishop.

Then were all these great complaints of his contempt, Disobedience, and Periury, exhibited, and aggrauated against him before the Assembly, and they cried generally he was a Traytor, that hauing receiued so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and obserue his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, *renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience vnto him, cited him to* Rome, *and condemned him as a periured man and a Traytor.*

Then the Earle of Leycester accompanyed with *Reginald* Earle of Cornwall came to the Archbishop, and charged him from the King to answer to what was obiected vnto him, or else to heare his iudgement. *Nay, sonne Earle,* sayd he, *first heare you: It is not vnknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I haue serued the King, and how in regard thereof he preferred mee to the place I hold (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I loued mine owne quietnesse, and was content to take it vpon me, rather for his pleasure, then Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from mee. At the time of my Election hee made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am deliuered, I am not bound to answere, nor will I. How much the soule is worthier then the bodie, so much are you bound to obey God and mee rather then any Earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonne to condemne the Father. And I refuse to stand either to the Iudgement of the King or any other person, appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom only on Earth I ought to bee iudged, committing all I haue to Gods protection and his: and vnder that authority I depart out of this place.* And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings seruants.

The Archbishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the common people (reioycing to see him deliuered) and diuers of the Clergie conuayed him honourably to the Abbay of Saint *Andrewes*, whence disguised (by the name of *Derman*) hee escaped ouer into *Flanders*, and so into *France*.

This businesse of the Church, I haue the more particularly deliuered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lies so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Soueraignty, and the rest of the bodie, as it could not well be omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and burthen it layed vpon him for many yeares, is worthie of note, and shewes vs what spirit had predomination in that season of the World, and what Engines were vsed in this Oppugnation.

Presently vpon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends ouer to

the King of *France*, *Gillebert* Biſhop of London, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, to intreat him, *not onely to forbid the Archbiſhop his Kingdome, but to be a meanes to the Pope, that his cauſe might not bee fauoured by the Church, being ſo contumacious a rebell as he was againſt his Soueraigne Lord.*

The King of France notwithſtanding this intreaty, ſends Frier *Francis* his Almoyner vnder hand to the Pope, to beſeech him, as he tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of *France*, *to ſuppoꝛt the cauſe of* Thomas *of* Canterbury, *againſt the Tyrant of* England.

The King ſends Ambaſſadors to the Pope.

King *Henry* ſends likewiſe with all ſpeed, *Roger* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Chichester*, and *Exceſter*; *Guido Rufus*, *Richard Ineceſter*, and *Iohn* of *Oxford*, Clerkes: *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh de Gundenile*, *Bernard de Saint Walleric*, and *Henry Fitz Gerrard*, to informe the Pope of the whole cauſe, and preuent the Archbiſhoppes complaint. The multitude, and greatneſſe of the Commiſſioners ſhewed the importance of the Ambaſſage, and the Kings earneſt deſire to haue his cauſe preuaile. They finde the Pope at the Citie of Sens, to whom, *they ſhewed how peruers and diſobedient the Archbiſhoppe had behaued himſelfe to his Soueraigne Lord the King of* England: *how hee alone refuſed to obay his Lawes and Cuſtomes, which hee had ſworne to doe: and that by his peeuiſh waywardneſſe, the Church and Kingdome were like to be diſturbed, which otherwiſe would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and neceſſary: and therefore they beſought him, as hee tendred the peace of the Church of* England, *and the loue of the King their Soueraigne, not to giue credit or grace, to a man of ſo turbulent, & dangerous a ſpirit.*

This Information (notwithſtanding earneſtly vrged) they found mooued not any diſpoſition in the Pope to fauour the Kings cauſe, ſo that in the end, *They beſought him to ſend two Legats ouer into* England, *to examine the particulars of this buſineſſe, and how it had beene carried: and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cauſe, but refer it to their relation.* The Pope refuſes to ſend any Legat; the commiſſioners depart without any ſatisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Archbiſhop and proſtrates himſelfe at the Popes feete, deliuers him a coppie of thoſe Lawes, which the King called his *Grandfathers Lawes*, which being openly read in the preſence of all the Cardinals, Clergie, and many other people, *the Pope condemned them for euer, and accurſed thoſe who obeyed or any way fauored them.*

Thoſe Lawes among the Statutes of *Claremdon*, which the Archbiſhoppe ſo much oppugned (and moſt offended the Clergie) were (as by his owne letter to the Biſhop of London appeares) theſe eſpecially: *That there ſhould bee no appeale to the Apoſtolike See without the Kings leaue. That no Archbiſhoppe or Biſhoppe ſhould goe out of the Realme but by the Kings permiſſion. That no Biſhoppe excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite; or interdict any officiall of his without the Kings leaue, &c. That Clergie men ſhould bee diſcharged to ſecular iudgements. That Lay men (as the King and other) ſhould handle cauſes of the Church, Tythes, and ſuch like.* And theſe were dangerous incroachments vpon their liberties.

But now the King, ſeeing his Ambaſſage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, preſently makes his heauie diſpleaſure, and the ſcorne hee tooke, knowe by his ſeuere Edicts, both againſt the Pope, and the Archbiſhoppe, that they might ſee what edge his ſecular power had in this: ordayning, *That if any were found carying Letter, or Mandate from the Pope, or Archbiſhoppe, conteyning any interdiction of Chriſtianity in* England, *he ſhould be taken, and without delay executed as a Traytor, both to the King and Kingdome. That whatſoeuer Biſhop, Prieſt, Monke, or Couerſer in anie Order, Clerke, or Layman, ſhould haue and retaine any ſuch letters; ſhould forfeit all their poſſeſſions, goods, and chattells to the King, and be preſently baniſhed the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergie men, Monke or other ſhould bee permitted to paſſe ouer Sea, or returne out of* Normandy *into* England, *without letters from the Iuſtices here, or from the King being there: vpon paine to bee taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none ſhould appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any reuenue in England ſhould returne into the Realme within three moneths, vpon paine of forfeiting their eſtates to the King.*

1166. *Anno Reg* 12.

The Kings Edicts againſt the Pope and his agents.

That

That Peter Pence *ſhould bee collected, and ſequeſtred till the Kings pleaſure were farther knowne.*

Beſides this, hee baniſhes all that were found to bee any way of kinne to the Archbiſhop, without exception of condition, ſex, or yeeres. And withall, takes occaſion vpon the *Schiſme* which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperors faction, which ſtood thus.

The Election of two Popes.

After the death of *Adrian* the fourth, *Rouland* a *Geneneſe*, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by name of *Alexander* the third, to which election foure Cardinals oppoſed, and made choyce of *Octauian* a Cittizen of *Rome* that would be called *Victor* the fift. The Emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa* ſummons theſe two Popes to a Councel at *Pauia*, to vnderſtand and determine their right. *Alexander* makes the old anſwere, *that the Pope could not be iudged by any man liuing*, refuſes to appeare before the Emperour, and withdrawes into Anagnia. *Victor* conſents to appeare there, or whereſoeuer the Emperour would appoint, ſo that, he was the man for that ſide. But all the other Princes of Chriſtendome (except thoſe of the Emperours faction) acknowledge *Alexander* for Pope, as elected by moſt voyces. And eſpecially by the King of *France* who called him thither: and at Cocy vpon Loyr, he and the King of *England* receiued him with all honour and reuerence, in ſo much, as they are ſayd to haue attended vpon his Stirrop, the one, on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at Tours, whither the Kings of *England*, Spaine and Hungarie ſend their Ambaſſadors, and there, are the conſtitutions of the Councell of Pauia, and the Emperours confirmation of *Victor* nullified, ſo that *Alexander* hauing his party dayly increaſing in Italy, was ſhortly after receiued into Rome.

Notwithſtanding all this, the King of England finding him ſo auers in this buſineſſe, *Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, ſeekes to ſtrength himſelfe with the Princes of* Germanie, *conſents to mateh his daughter* Maude *to the Duke of* Saxony, *at the motion of* Reginald *Archbiſhop of* Collen, *ſent ouer by the Emperour for that purpoſe, and intertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours ſonne.*

Pope *Alexanders* letter to the Clergie of England.

But now, by reaſon this contrary faction to Pope *Alexander* grew to be but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exaſperates the Pope, and ſets him on the more to ſupport the cauſe of the Archbiſhoppe, *Who ſollicites the Clergie of England, threatens, intreats, adiures them not to forſake their hold, nor giue way to the inuador of their liberties, which ſought to confound the Prieſthood and the Kingdome: and if they oppoſed not mainely at the firſt, but ſuffered the leaſt breach to bee made vpon them, they were vndone.* Then excommunicates hee all the eſpeciall Miniſters of the King that adhered to the *Teutonicque* faction, or held intelligence with the Archbiſhop of Collen: As *Iohn* of *Oxford*, *Richard Ineeheſter*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Ioſilin Balliol*, *Alan de Neuile*, and with theſe all ſuch as had entred vpon the goods of the Church of *Canterbury*, which hee called the *patrimony of the Crucifix*, *and the foode of the poore*: and theſe were *Ralph de Brocke*, *Hugh Saint Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz. Barnard.* Thus are both ſides buſied in this drie warre, wherein, though there were no ſword, yet it gaue vexation ynough.

The King repreſſes the *Welch.*

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke vp the Kings time; for during this diſſention, the Welſh againe reuolt, and to ſupreſſe them he ſpent much labour, with the loſſe of many great men, and was himſelfe in that daunger, as had not *Hubert Saint Clere* receiued a wounde for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his perſon, hee had there finiſhed his part. In this expedition hee is ſayd, to haue vſed extreame crueltie.

1166. *Anno Reg.* 13.

After this, he paſſes into Normandie to bee neere his buſineſſe, which now lay all on that ſide. And firſt to entertaine the opinion of Pietie (though hee were falne out with the Pope) hee obtaines at an Aſſembly of his Biſhops and Barons of Normandie, *two pence in the pound, of euery mans Lands and goods to be payde that yeare* 1166. *and a penny of euery pound to be payde for foure yeares following*, which was leuied for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Holy warre, and ſent vnto them.

Then hee raiſes forces and takes in certaine Caſtles in the Countrey of *Maine*, and Marches of *Brittaigne*, from diuers Lords and Barons that had diſobayed him. And whilſt he was buſie abroade, *Mathew* ſonne to the Earle of *Flaunders* (who had married the Lady *Marie Abbeſſe* of *Ramſey*, daughter to King *Stephen*, and had by her the Country of *Bologne*) attempted ſomething on the Coaſt of *England*, either to try the affections of the people, or to make ſpoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any ſuch weake vndertaker.

And to diſtend his power yet wider, falls out this occaſion: *Conan* Earle of *Brittaigne* dies, and leaues one onely daughter (which hee had by his wife *Conſtance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to ſucceed him in his State. The King of *England* being then in armes vpon the Marches of *Brittaigne*, deales with the Guardians of the yong Ladie to match her to his third ſon *Geffry*. The Nobility of that Country being then of a rough, and haughty diſpoſition (giuen to fewds, and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought vpon, and a ſide is wonne of ſuch as could doe moſt in this buſineſſe; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of *England*.

The death of *Maude* the Empreſſe.

This fell out to be in the 13 yeare of his reigne, wherein, as ſome write, died his Mother *Maud* the Empreſſe, a Lady of an high and actiue Spirit: illuſtrious by her birth, but more by her firſt match, and moſt by her ſon, whom ſhe liued to ſee eſtabliſhed in all theſe mighty States, in the glory of Greatneſſe & Peace: Fertile in iſſue, hauing now had foure ſons and three daughters, linkes of loue and ſtrength (oftentimes in priuate families) though ſeldome in Princes; and ſhee left him in the beſt time of his daies before any great tempeſt ouertooke him.

Three yeares after this, hee imployes moſt in *France*, about the ordering and cleering the bounds of his Dominions from vſurpation, or incrochments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatneſſe held all in awe) and they muſt haue no more then hee would: eſpecially hee ſettles and reformes the State of *Brittaigne*, which was much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which being appeaſed, hee keepes a ſolemne Chriſtmas at *Nants*, and Royally feaſts the Nobilitie of the Countrey.

1169. *Anno Reg.* 16.

Then returnes he into *England*, where, leſt Peace (by reaſon of his long and often abſence) might afflict and corrupt his ſubiects, he lookes to that Diuine, and Almighty worke of Kings, the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, appoynting certaine commiſſioners as Syndicqs to examine the abuſes and exceſſes committed by his Officers, and grieuouſly puniſhes the Shrieſes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Eaſter, he keepes at *Windſor*, whither repaires vnto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately ſucceeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *Dauid*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and alſo continue his claime to thoſe peeces in the North which hee pretended to be vniuſtly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaines him, as hee had done his brother with faire words and tells him, *How it was not in his power to doe any thing therein, without the conſent of the State in Parliament; which if hee would attend, there ſhould bee that courſe taken, as hee hoped might giue him ſatisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predeceſſor had done.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the clowde hangs ſtill ouer him, dayly threatning the great thunder-bolt. Although it ſeeme the Pope of himſelfe, was not verie forward to proceede to that extremity, but would gladly haue quieted the Archbiſhoppe otherwiſe; *Who* (he ſayd) *had taken an ill time for this buſineſſe, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble:* and therefore writes hee his letters to the Biſhops of *London*, and *Hereford willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admoniſh him to deſiſt from intruding vpon the liberities of the Church, and to reſtore the Archbiſhop to his Sea and Dignity.*

The Pope writes to the Biſhops of England.

The Biſhops anſwere to the Popes Letter.

The Biſhops wiſely anſwere the Popes Letter, in ſubſtance thus: *Wee haue* (ſayd they) *done your* Holineſſe *meſſage, and as much as was decent for the Maieſtie of a King, inſtantly vrged him to ſatisfie your deſire, made by vs: and if hee had*

erred

erred from the way of truth and Iuſtice, that hee would not delay to returne thereunto: that hee would not inhibit ſuch as were deſirous to viſit the Church of Rome, hinder Appeales, oppreſſe Churches and Churchmen, or ſuffer others ſo to doe: that he would call home our Father the Archbiſhoppe, &c. and perſiſt in the workes of Pietie; that hee by whom Kings reigne might preſerue vnto him his temporall Kingdome, and giue him an eternall in Heauen: and that vnleſſe hee would yeelde to your Holy admonitions, you, who had hitherto endured, could in patience forbeare no longer. Beſides, we added this of our ſelues, *how it was to bee feared, if hee amended not his errours, his Kingdome would not long ſtand, nor yet proſper.*

The King receiued your admonitions with manie thankes, much Temperance and Modeſtie, and anſweres to euerie point. Firſt hee proteſted that in no ſort he auerted his minde from your Holineſſe, *nor euer purpoſed ſo to doe, but ſo long as you ſhewed him fatherly Grace, hee would loue you as a Father; reuerence, and cheriſh the Church as his Mother. And humbly obay your ſacred Decrees, ſauing his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome: and if of late he hath not reſpected you with any reuerence, the cauſe was that, hauing with all his affection, and all his power ſtood to you in your neceſſitie, hee was not anſwered worthily to his deſerts vpon his recourſe to you by his Ambaſſadour, but in euery petition had the repulſe. And for hindring any which are willing to viſit your* Holineſſe, *hee anſweres hee will not, nor hath hitherto done.*

But *for Appeales,* by the ancient cuſtome of the Kingdome, *Hee chalenges that honour, and cumber to himſelfe: that no Clergie man for any ciuill cauſe ſhall goe out of the Land till hee hath tried, whether hee may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iuſtice at home; which if hee cannot, hee may (without any hinderance) when hee will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way hee doth preiudice* Your Honour, *hee offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it ſhall bee ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdom. And for the Emperour, though hee knew him a Schiſmatique, hee neuer vnderſtood hee was excommunicate. But if hee be by vs informed thereof, or hath entred vnlawfull league with him, or any other, hee promiſes likewiſe to redreſſe the ſame, by the ſayd Eccleſiaſticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of* Canterbury (hee ſayth) *that hee neuer expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as hee went out of his owne accord, ſo alſo at his pleaſure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: prouided, that his Maieſtie might bee ſatisfied concerning thoſe complaints of his, and haue him to obſerue his Royall Dignity. And if it can bee proued, that any Church, or Churchman, hath beene oppreſt by the King or any of his, hee is ready to make full ſatisfaction, as ſhall bee thought fit by the whole Councell of the Church of his Kingdome.*

This (ſay they) *wee haue receiued in anſwere from our Lord the King, and wiſh wee could haue had it fully according to your deſire: but theſe things we thought good to notifie to your* Highneſſe, *that your* Diſcretion *may perceiue what is like to bee the concluſion of this buſineſſe. The King ſtands vpon the iuſtification of his owne cauſe, ready to obey the Councell and iudgement of the Church of* England. *Whereupon wee thought good to beſeech your Highneſſe, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the diuine Spirit, is worthy inkindled, to reuenge any iniury done to the Church of God) and forbeare to pronounce any ſentence of interdiction, or that laſt iudgement of abſciſion, whereby innumerable Churches may bee miſerably ſubuerted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irreuocably (which God forbid) auerted from your obedience.*

Then they tell him, *That better it were to haue a member bad, then cut off: abſciſion brought deſperation: a skilfull Chirurgion might recouer an infected part, and how it were fitter to imploy meanes to heale the wound, then by cutting off a moſt noble part of the Church of God, to bring more diſturbance to the ſame that hath too much alreadie. Though the King were ſtiffe, they ought not deſpaire of the grace of God; that a Kings ſtomacke was then to bee wonne, when hee had wonne, and might not bluſh to yeelde, when he had ouercome: Patience, and Meekeneſſe, muſt paciſie him, &c. And in concluſion, wee ſpeake fooliſhly* (ſay they) *but yet with all Charitie: if it come to paſſe that the Lord of* Canterbury *looſe both his goods; and liue beſides in perpetuall*

exile; *and* England (*which God forbid*) *fall away from your obedience, were it not better to forbeare for a time, then with such zeale of seuerity to foster vp a party? what if persecution cannot seperate many of vs from you, yet will not there want knees to bow to* Baal, *and receiue the Pall of* Canterbury *at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of Religion, or Iustice: neither will there was want suppliers of our* Chayres *that will obey him with all deuotion, and already many deuoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight waies bee made crooked.*

Thus much out of their letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shew vs more of the inside of affaires, then any relations else. And by this wee truely see what barres kept these two mighty powers back from their wills, and yet how lowde they threaten, and both afeard of each other.

But the King of *England* stood safe ynough, and was like to haue his businesses runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer then fast, hee layes open a way both to disioynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with diuision; which was by the association of his sonne *Henry* in the gouernment, *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, conuoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the Cõmon-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the loue he bare his sonne, as he would not bee denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to haue twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty vnto him, and to haue designed, vnlesse he were Crowned King, as he was, with all vsuall solemnities the 14 day of *Iune* 1170. by *Roger* Archbishop of Yorke, and had homage done vnto him that day by the King of *Scots*, *David* his brother, and all the Nobility of *England*. But now with what reseruations this was done, we are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title: and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to haue the especiall manage of the Gouernment, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a Sonne, with a limited power. Howsoeuer, this young King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to bee made ouer in trust*, and layd much griefe, and repentance, vpon his Fathers forwardnesse.

Prince *Henry* crowned King. 1170. *Anno Reg.* 10.

What mooued the King with this precipitation (to be before hand with his Graue) may be deemed, the iealosie he had apprehended by his Mothers example, who *for all the Oath of Fealtie so often taken for succession*, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergie; and now considering in what termes hee stood with them, and that although he had wonne some few Bishops vnto him, was sure they loued him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himselfe should faile, made him ouer-doe his worke.

The King of *France*, vnderstanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it ill, and threatens King *Henry* the Father with warre, if it were not presently done; which causes him to make more haste backe againe into *Normandie* (leauing the yong King in *England*) to satisfie or preuent this quarreling Prince.

And whilst he remained there, meanes was made that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who had beene now sixe yeares in exile) was brought to haue conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of *France*, *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, and diuers great Bishops; which the King of *England* was the more willing to accept, in regard hee saw this breach with the Church might much preiudice his temporall businesses whensoeuer they should breake out: and how the Archbishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian world against him: which, *How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a ruler of bodies*, was to bee considered. And therefore descends he from the higth of his will to his necessity, and they meete at *Montmiriall* before the king of *France*; where the Archbishop kneeling at the feete of his Soueraigne Lord the king of *England*, sayd, *Hee would commit the whole cause in controuersie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserued.*

Beckets submission to the King.

The

The King (who had beene often vſed to that reſeruation) grew into ſome choller, and ſayd to the King of *France*, and the reſt, *Whatſoeuer diſpleaſeth this man, he would haue to be againſt Gods honour, and ſo by that ſhift, will challeng to himſelfe all that belongs to mee: But becauſe, you ſhall not thinke me to goe about to reſiſt Gods honour and him, in what ſhall be fit, looke what the greateſt & moſt Holy of all his Predeceſſors haue done to the meaneſt of mine, let him doe the ſame to me, and it ſhall ſuffice.* Which anſwere being, beyond expectation, ſo reaſonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cauſe, in ſo much as the King of *France*, ſayd to the Archbiſhop, *Will you be greater then Saints? better than Saint* Peter? *what can you ſtand vpon? I ſee it is your fault, if your peace bee not made.* The Archbiſhop replied to this effect: *That as the authority of Kings had their beginning by Degrees, ſo had that of the Church, which being now by the prouidence of God, come to that Eſtate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene faint or yeelding in their places. The Church had riſen, and increaſed out of many violent oppreſſions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers* (ſayd he) *ſuffred all manner of afflictions, becauſe they would not forſake the name of Chriſt, and ſhall I, to be reconciled to any mans fauour liuing, derogate any thing from his honour?*

The Kings offer to *Becket*.

Beckets reply.

This hauty reply of a ſubiect to ſo yeelding an offer of his Soueraigne, ſo much diſtaſted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cauſe, rather to proceed from obſtinacy then zeale, and with that impreſſion, the conference for that time, brake vp. But after this, were many other meetings and much debate about the buſineſſe. And the King of *France* (at whoſe charge lay the Archbiſhop all this while) came to another conference with them, vpon the Confines of *Normandy: Where, the King of* England *tooke the Archbiſhop apart, and had long ſpeech with him; twice they alighted from their horſes, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Archbiſhops bridell, and ſo againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any.* In the end by mediation of the Archbiſhop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Amboys. And thereupon *Henry* the father, writes to *Henry* the ſon, being then in *England*, in this wiſe: *Know yee that* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that hee and all his, haue peace: and that you cauſe to be reſtored vnto him, and to all ſuch (as for him) went out of* England, *all their ſubſtances, in as full and honourable manner, as they held it, three moneths before their going, &c.* And thus by this letter we ſee, in which King, the command lay.

The King and *Becket* accorded.

The Archbiſhop returning into *England* (not as one who had ſought his peace, but inforced it) with larger power to his reſolution then before, *Suſpends by the Popes Bull, the Archbiſhop of* Yorke *from all Epiſcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Prouince of* Canterbury, *without his leaue, and againſt the Popes commandement: and without taking (according to the cuſtome) the Cautionary Oath, for conſeruation of the liberties of the Church.* He brought alſo other letters *to ſuſpend* in like manner, *The Biſhops of* London, Salisbury, Oxford, Cheſter, Rocheſter, Saint Aſaph, *and* Landaff, *for doing ſeruice at the Coronation, and vpholding the Kings cauſe againſt him.* And by theſe Letters were they all to remaine ſuſpended, till they had ſatisfied the Archbiſhop in ſo much as he thought fit.

Becket returnes into England.

Thus to returne home, ſhewed that hee had the better of the time, and came all vntied, which ſo terrified the biſhops that preſently (hauing no other refuge) they repaire to the King in *Normandy*, and ſhew him this violent proceeding of the Archbiſhop, *How ſince his returne hee was growne ſo imperious as there was no liuing vnder him.* Wherewith the King was ſo much mooued, as hee is ſayd in extreame paſſion to haue vttered theſe words; *In what a miſerable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one onely Prieſt? is there no man will ridde mee of this trouble.* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir *Hugh Morville*, Sir *William Tracy*, Sir *Richard Brittaine*, and Sir *Raynold Fitz Vrs* (then attending vpon the King, and geſſing his deſire by his words) depart preſently into *England*, to bee the vnfortunate executioners of the ſame; but by ſome it ſeemes rather, theſe foure gentlemen were ſent with Commiſſion from the King to deale with the Archbiſhop in another manner, *And firſt to wiſh him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to reſtore theſe Biſhops to the execution of their function*

function: and thirdly, to beare himselfe with more moderation in his place, whereby the Church might haue comfort vpon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.

The murthering of *Becket.*

But they finding the Arch-bishop not answering their humor, but peremptory, & vntractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, & first from threatning force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armor (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-bishop was with-drawn, the Monks at Diuine Seruice; and there calling him Traitor, and furiously reuiling him, gaue him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his bloud besprinkled the Altar. His behauiour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passionate committing the cause of the Church, with his soule to God, and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner, and all aggrauates the hatred of the deed, and makes compassion, and opinion, to be on his side.

The Murtherers miserable ende.

The vnfortunate Gentlemen (hauing effected this great seruice, rifled the Arch-bishops house; and after waighing the foulenesse of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselues into the North parts; and from thence pursued, fled into seuerall Countreys, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) died miserable Fugitiues.

The King of *France* informes the Pope of *Beckets* murther.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth ouer all the Christian world, euery pen that had passion, was presently set on worke. The King of *France* (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggrauation of the foulenesse thereof, and incites him to vse the most exquisit punishment he could, *To vnsheath* Peters *sword, to reuenge the death of the Martyr of* Canterbury, *whose bloud cries out for all the Church, and whose diuine glory was already reuealed in miracles.*

The Earle of *Bloys* informes likewise.

Theobald Earle of *Bloys*, a great and graue Prince (elder brother to King *Stephen*) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him, *how hee was at the peace-making betweene the King of* England *and this blessed Martyr: and with what a cheerefull countenance, with what willingnesse the king confirmed the agreement, granting him power to vse his authority as it should please the Pope & him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right, & dignity of the Church of* Canterbury, *presumed to intrude the new King into the Royall throne. And this he would iustifie by his Oath, or howsoeuer: and in this peace* (saith he) *the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke vnder the sword: this innocent lambe the morrow vpon Saint* Innocents *day, suffered Martyrdome: the iust bloud was shed, where the shot of our saluation, the bloud of Christ is offered.* And then: *how Court dogges, the Kings familiars and domesticks, were his ministers to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewise of reuenge.*

The Arch-bishop of *Sens* writes to the Pope.

But *William* Arch-bishop of *Sens* comes with a more maine outcry, as if hee would wake the Pope, were he neuer so dead-asleepe: and tels him, *how hee was appointed ouer Nations, and Kingdoms, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of iron: that all power both in Heauen and Earth was giuen to his Apostleship: bids him looke how the Bore of the wood had rooted vp the Vineyard of the Lord of Saboath, &c. and all, in that most powerfull phrase of holy writ.* And after, hauing bitterly inueyed against the King, vses these words: *It imports you, O most milde keeper of the walles of* Ierusalem, *to reuenge that which is past, and prouide for the future. What place shall be safe, if the rage of tyranny shall imbrew the* Sancta Sanctorum *with bloud, and teare in peeces the Vice-gerents of Christ, the foster children of the Church, without punishment? Arme therefore all the Ecclesiasticall power you may, &c.*

The King declares his innocency by Embassage to the Pope. Pope, & Cardinals denied audience, refused conference.

Such and so great was the vprore of the Church, raised vpon these motiues, as notwithstanding the King of *England* (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) imployed the most especiall men could be chosen in all his Dominions, *for reputation, learning, and iudgement; to declare his innocencie to the Pope: to vowe and protest that he was so farre from willing such a deed to be done, as he was from doing it himselfe, & how grieuously he tooke the matter when he heard thereof;* yet so deepe was the impression setled before hand, and his name made so odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denied Audience to his Ambassadors, but euery Cardinall, and all other his Ministers, refused to haue any conference

ference with them. Which, with the hard paſſage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and reſtraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they ſignified to the King) much diſcourage them; Yet for all this were there thoſe braue Spirits among them (as great Princes haue alwaies great Miniſters) that neuer gaue ouer working to cleere their maiſters honour, by Apologies, remonſtrances, and all whatſoeuer wit could deuiſe: and dealt ſo, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the higheſt Cenſure, though it were euery day threatned and expected. And hauing (by grauely vrging the miſchiefes, might follow in the Church; if a King of ſo great a State, and ſtomacke, ſhould bee driuen to take deſperate courſes) giuen ſome pawſe, and allay to the firſt heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Sommer; when, although they could giue the King no great ſecurity, yet they aduertiſe him of hope. But the ſending of two Cardinals à *Latere*, *Gratianus* and *Viuianus* downe into *Normandy*, did exceedingly vexe him. For they were rough againſt him, and would haue interdicted him, and his Dominions: but being forewarned of their comming and intention, hee appeales to the preſence of the Pope, and ſo put off that trouble. Returning out of *Normandie*, into *England*, hee giues ſtrict commandement, *That no briefe-carrier of what condition or order ſoeuer, without giuing good ſecurity for his behauiour to the King, and Kingdome, bee ſuffred top. ſſe the Seas.*

Notwithſtanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing vndone that concerned the aduancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to ſhew his power and greatneſſe, takes this time for an expedition into *Ireland* (hauing commanded a Nauie of foure hundred ſhippes to bee ready at *Milford Hauen* for the tranſportation of Men, Victuals, and Armour) and ſets foorth in the beginning of *November*, an vnſeaſonable time, both for thoſe Seas, and the inuaſion of a Countrey not well knowne. But the buſineſſe (it ſeemes) was well prepared fro him, hauing had an intention thereof, euer ſince the ſecond yeare of his reigne; in which *hee ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſage to* Pope Adrian the fourth, *to craue leaue for the ſubduement of that Country, vnder pretence of reducing thoſe rude people from their vicious faſhions to the faith and way of truth.* Which the Pope willingly granted, and returnes the Ambaſſadours, with an autenticall conceſſion thereof in writing, to this effect. *Firſt ſhewing how lawdable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of ſo mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on Earth, and heape vp reward of eternall felicity in Heauen, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and vnlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verti ie of the Chriſtian faith, and ciuilitie.* And *then giues him power to inuade the ſame and to execute whatſoeuer ſhould be to the Honour of God, and good of the Countrey, with reſeruation of* Church-rights, *and* Peeter-pence (a penny of euery houſe yearely which he had promiſed by his Ambaſſadors) and ſo concludes with an exhortation *to plant men of good and examplar life in the Clergie, &c.*

The Conqueſt of Ireland.

But the King at that time, hauing other occaſions, left off the purpoſe of this, which comes now of late to be againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrgh* one of the fiue Kings which then ruled that Iſland, comes vnto him into *Aquitaine* to craue his ayde againſt *Rodorick* the Great, called *O Conor Duin*, King of Connaught who, contending for the Soueraigntie of the whole, had chaced him out of his Dominion of *Lemſter*.

Dermot complains againſt *O Conor* to King *Henry*.

The King of *England* (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld paſſage of it ſelfe without being broken vp) intertaines this elected King with promiſes of ayde: and though he could not as then furniſh him, being ingaged in other great affaires, he yet permits ſuch of his ſubiects as would, to aduenture their fortunes with him. But the occaſion of diſſention betweene theſe two Iriſh Kings was indeed fowle on the part of *Dermot*, *who had corrupted, and ſtolne away the wife of* Rodoricke, *and for that odious iniury, with his iniuſtice to his people* (*the common cauſes of ruining and transferring Kingdomes*) hee was by ſtrong hand chaced out of his Dominion of *Lemſter*; and thereupon makes out for forraine aide. And (hauing thus delt with the King of *England*) he betakes him into *Wales*, where firſt he wrought one *Robert Fitz.*

Dermots offences.

Fits Stephen, a man of a deſperate fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him: and afterward *Richard* (of the houſe of *Clare*) ſurnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe ſeate in *Monmouth-ſhire*) Earle of *Chepſtow*, or *Strigil*, a Lord of high courage and worthineſſe, which made him well followed, and of great poſſeſſions both in *England*, and *Normandie*, which gaue him meanes for his entertainements. *Fits Stephen* was perſwaded by promiſe of rich rewards: The Earle, of marriage with *Eua* the daughter of *Dermot*, and the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome of *Lemſter*.

The conqueſt of Ireland.

Fits Stephen with *Maurice Fits Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, paſſed ouer firſt with a ſmall company, and landed at the place called by the *Iriſh Bagg-bun*, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as preſaging good ſucceſſe, whereof this time retaines yet the memory, *At the head of* Bagge and Bun, Ireland *was loſt and wonne*. And the next day after arriued at the ſame place, *Maurice de Prendergaſt*, with other men at armes, and many Archers in two ſhips, parcell of *Fits Stephens* forces which from thence marched to the Citty of *Weiſhford*, with Banners diſplayed, in ſo ſtrange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundred) as the *Iriſh* vnacquainted with ſo vnuſuall a face of warre, were ouercome with feare, and rendred vp themſelues to their mercy with their Citty of *Weiſhford*, which with the Countrey about was giuen by *Dermot* to *Robert Fits Stephen*, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the firſt Colonie of the *Engliſh*, which euer ſince hath continued, retaining ſtill in a ſort our ancient attire, and much of our language, proper onely to that Citty and Countrey about, and called by a diſtinct name, *Weisford ſpeech*.

Triginta Militibus.

The beginning of May.

1170. *Anno Reg.* 16.

The next yeare are new ſupplies ſent out of *Wales*, and after, vpon intelligence of good ſucceſſe, the Earle of *Pembrok* ariues in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at armes and a thouſand other ſouldiers, takes the towne, which was then called *Portlarge*, puts the inhabitants to the ſword (to giue terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* giues him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Country, which, after his wickedneſſe had vndone, hee liued not to ſee more yeares (hauing had too many by this) and dies miſeraby, leauing the Stile of *Nim-gal* (which ſignifies) *the ſtrangers friend*, added to his name in memory of his vnnaturall forſaking his owne Nation.

1171. *Anno Reg.* 17.

Strongbow, after hauing ſecured the places gotten, marches with thoſe ſmall forces he had ouer the Iſland without reſiſtance. *Rodorick* the Great (ſhewing himſelfe but a little Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and faſtneſſes of *Connaught*, and neuer came to appeare before the enemy; who paſſing through the Country at his pleaſure, takes what pledges he would of the inhabitants to ſecure their obedience, and with as little labour poſſeſt himſelfe of the Citie of *Dublin* the head of the Iſland.

Thus *Wales* got vs firſt the Realme of *Ireland*, and (which is moſt ſtrange) without ſtroke of battaile: a thing ſcarce credible, that a Country ſo populous, a Nation of that diſpoſition, ſhould not lift vp a hand to defend it ſelfe. hauing, it ſeemes, either neglected the vſe of Armer, or elſe neuer beene acquainted with them (other then in a naked manner of domeſticke fight one with another) whereby, the terror of ſtrange, and neuer before ſeene forces in order of warre, layd them proſtrate to the mercy of the *Ouer-runner*.

But the King of *England* aduertiſed of the proſperous ſucceſſe of theſe Aduenturers and the eſtate of the Country grew in iealouſie of them, thinking they preſumed farther then their ſubiection would allow, and would make themſelues that which they muſt be made by him, and take away the glory of the worke that ſhould bee only his; cauſes proclamation to be made: *That no veſſell ſhould carry any thing out of his Dominions into* Ireland, *and that all his ſubiects ſhould returne from thence, and leaue off their attempts, otherwiſe to forfeit their Eſtates at home.* And withall ſends ouer *William Fitz. Adelm*, and *Robert Fitz. Bernard* with ſome forces to prepare the way for him who followed ſhortly after, and lands eight miles from *Waterford* the Eue of Saint *Luke Anno* 1172. being the third yeare after the firſt *Innaſion* made by *Fitz. Stephen*.

1172. *Anno Reg.* 18.

At

At his firſt landing, *a white Hart* ſtarting out of a buſh was taken, and preſented to him, interpreted as a preſage of a white victory. The next day hee marches to Waterford where he ſtaied fifteene dayes; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of *Corke*, *Limricke*, *Oxery*, *Meth*, and all of any power in *Ireland* (except *Rodericke* King of *Connaught*, who ſtill kept himſelfe in the faſtneſſe of his Countrey) *and ſubmitted themſelues with all the Clergie, taking their Oath of Fealty to him, and the young King, and their Succeſſors for ever*; ſo theſe deuided Princes holding no common Councell for the publique ſafty: rather then to ioyne thoſe hands that had ſo often ſcratched each other, fell all from themſelues, and with the ſame emulation they had in libertie, ſtroue for their ſeruitude who ſhould be firſt to receiue a forraine maiſter. The *Iriſh* kings ſubmiſſion.

From *Waterford* the King goes to *Dublin*, where, hee holds an Aſſembly of all theſe ſubiect Kings, with the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall of *Ireland*, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done hee cauſes the Biſhops with the Clergie there to aſſemble at *Caſſell*, and appoints an eſpeciall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Archdeacon of *Landaffe* to be aſſiſtants and aduiſors vnto them for reformation of Church-buſineſſes, which ſeemes to haue beene as diſordred as the people. For though the Iriſh had beene long before Chriſtians, it was after a wilde and mixt faſhion, and therefore, according to his promiſe made to the late Pope, and to do a worke pleaſing to the preſent, it was decreed, *That all Church-lands ſhould be free from the vexation of ſecular men: and that from thenceforth, all Diuine things ſhould be ordered, and vſed in euery part of* Ireland *according to the manner of the Church of* England, being fit (as ſaith the Cannon) *that as* Ireland *hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord and King out of* England, *ſo from thence they ſhould receiue a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vſed.* *Henries* reformation of *Ireland.*

His *Chriſtmaſſe* he keepes at *Dublin*, where he royally feaſts all his Kings & great men of the Countrey; the reſt of his being there hee imployes in fortifying and planting Garriſons where moſt need required: he makes *Hugh Lacy* Iuſtice of all *Ireland*, giues him the keeping of *Dublin*, and beſides confirmed vnto him and his heires, by his Charter, the Countrey of *Meth* to hold the ſame in Fee, for the ſeruice of a hundreth Knights: he beſtowes on *Robert Fitz Bernard* the keeping of the Townes of *Waterford* and *Weiſford* (which he tooke from *Fitz Stephen* the firſt inuador) with charge to build Caſtles in them: and to humble the Earle *Strongbow*, and leuell him with the reſt of his ſubiects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a Kingdome, which though thus eaſily won, it proued more difficult, and coſtly in the keeping, by reaſon the proſequution of a ful eſtabliſhment thereof was neither by him or his ſucceſſors (hauing other diuertments) euer throughly accompliſhed.

On *Eaſter* monday he ſets out for *England*, where he makes no ſtay, but takes the young King along in his company, and paſſes ouer into *Normandy* to meete other two Legates (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) who were ſent from Pope *Alexander* (but in milder faſhion then the laſt) to examine the murther of the late Arch-biſhop *Becket*. Foure moneths were ſpent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken vpon the Reliques of Saints, and the holy Euangeliſts, before the two Legates in the preſence of King *Henry* the ſon, the Arch-biſhop of *Roüen*, and all the Biſhops, and Abbots of *Normandy* in the Citty of *Auranches* purged himſelfe, of either commanding, or conſenting to the murther. Yet for that he doubted leſt they who committed the ſame might be moued thereunto by ſeeing him diſturbed, and in paſſion: hee tooke the ſame Oath; that in ſatisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe theſe Articles following: *Firſt, neuer to forſake Pope* Alexander, *nor his Catholicke Succeſſors, ſo long as they vſed him as a Catholicke King. Secondly, That Appeales ſhould freely be made to the Pope, in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.* Prouided, that if any were ſuſpected, to worke euill to him, or his Kingdome, they ſhould then put in ſecurity before they departed. *Thirdly, That he would (from Chriſtmas next for three yeares to come) vndertake the Croſſe, and the ſommer following, in perſon go to* Ieruſalem, *vnleſſe he were ſtayed by the Pope, or his Succeſſors, or imployde againſt the* Sarasins *in* Spaine. *Fourthly, That in the meane time, he ſhould deliuer ſo much* His purgation for *Beckets* murther.

money

money into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine two hundreth ſouldiers in the Holy warre for one yeare. Fiftly, call home all ſuch as had endured baniſhment for the Arch-biſhop. Sixtly, Reſtore his poſſeſſions. Seuenthly, and laſtly, aboliſh all ſuch cuſtomes as in his time had beene introduced to the preiudice of the Church. After himſelfe had ſworne, hee cauſed King *Henry* his ſonne to ſweare to all theſe Articles, except ſuch as concerned his owne perſon. And for a more Memory in the Roman Church, hee cauſed his Seale to be ſet vnto them, with that of the two Cardinals. So ended this tedious buſineſſe, that made more noyſe in the world, then any he had, and bowed him more: beeing his ill fortune, to grapple with a man of that free reſolution as made his ſufferings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this world; ſet vp his reſt, not to yeeld to a King; was onely ingaged to his cauſe; had opinion, and beliefe, to take his part: Which ſo much preuailed, as the King ſeeking to maiſter him, aduanced him; and now as hee faine to kneele, and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had diſgraced in his perſon; and hauing had him aboue his will, whileſt he liued, hath him now ouer his Faith, being dead. And yet 48. yeares after this, ſaith the *French* Hiſtory, it was diſputed among the Doctors of *Paris*, whether he were damned or ſaued: And one *Roger* a *Norman* maintained, he had iuſtly deſerued death, for rebelling againſt his Soueraigne, the Miniſter of God.

Both Kings ſweare to theſe Articles.

To make the better way to the ending of this buſineſſe, and content the King of *France*; *Henry* the ſon is againe Crowned, and with him *Margaret* his wife, with permiſſion ſhortly after, to goe viſite *Paris*; where, this young King, apt inough (though not to know himſelfe) yet to know his State, receiued thoſe inſtructions as made his ambition quite turne off his obedience, and conceiue, *How to be a King, was to be a power aboue, and vndeuideable.*

Henry the ſonne is again crowned with *Margaret* his wife.

And to further the birth of this apprehenſion, fell out this occaſion. The Father euer awake to aduance his greatneſſe, takes a iourney in perſon into *Aurgues*, and ſo to *Monferrato*; and there purchaſes a match for the price of fiue thouſand Markes, for his yongeſt ſonne *Iohn*, with *Alice* the eldeſt daughter of *Humbert*, Earle of *Maurina* (then as it ſeemes) Lord of *Piemont* and *Sauoy*, with condition to haue with her the inheritance of all thoſe Countryes, containing many great Signories, Cities, and Caſtles, ſpecified in *Roger Houeden*, with all the circumſtances, and couenants, very remarkable, of the contract. So vnto greatneſſe (that eaſier increaſes then begins) is added more meanes, and euery way opens to this actiue, and powerfull King aduantages of State, in ſo much, as the King of *France* was euen ſurrounded with the power, and dependances of this mightie King of *England*, whoſe fortunes moſt of all the neighbour Princes (which ſubſiſt by other, then their owne power) now follow. And being returned from cõcluding this Match in *Piemont*, there comes vnto him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* (by whom was giuen the firſt affront he had in *France*) now to doe homage vnto him for the Earledome of *Tholouſe*: and there became the man of the King of *England*, and of his ſonne *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, to hold *Tholouſe* from them (by hereditary right) for ſeruice of comming vnto them vpon their ſommons, and remayning in their ſeruice fortie dayes at his owne charge: and if they would entertaine him longer, to allow him reaſonable expenſes. Beſides, the Earle ſhould pay yearely, for *Tholouſe*, and the appertinances, a hundred markes of ſiluer, or ten Horſes, worth ten Markes a peece.

Vide Append.

1173. *Anno Reg* 19.

The homage of *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* for the Earld. of Tholouſe.

About the ſame time alſo came the Earle *Hubert* to *Limoges* (to know what Land the King of *England* would aſſure his ſon *Iohn*) who reſolued to giue vnto him the Caſtles of *Chinon*, *Loduen* and *Mirabell*. Wherewith King *Henry* the ſon grew much diſpleaſed, and here mooued his Father, either to reſigne vnto him, the Dutchie of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Anion*, or the Kingdome of *England* for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more egar being incenſed by the King of *France*, and the diſcontented Lords, both of *England*, and *Normandie*, who were many, and ſalne, or wrought from the Father, vpon new hopes, and the aduantage of a deuided Soueraignty.

Henry the ſon takes diſpleaſure againſt his father.

And though there were many other occaſions of this defection of the ſonne, from the

the Father; yet, that this for theſe Caſtles ſhould firſt bee taken (may ſeeme to bee the worke of Gods eſpeciall iudgement) being thoſe peeces, which himſelfe had taken from his owne brother *Geffrey*, contrary to his Oath, made vnto his Father as is before related: ſo (as if to tell iniuſtice, that it muſt bee duely repayed) the ſame Caſtles are made to bring miſchiefe vpon him, and to giue a beginning to the fowleſt diſcorde that could bee: wherein hee had not onely the Children of his owne bodie, but the Wife of his bedde to conſpire, and practiſe againſt him.

For, hereupon the ſon ſodainely breaking away from the Father came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* (who had no other meanes to preuent the ouergrowing of a neighbour but to deuide him; ſommons and ſolicites the Princes of *France*, and all the friends he could make, to ayde King *Henry* the ſon againſt the father, and to take their Oath, *either to diſpoſſes him of his Eſtate, or bring him to their owne conditions.* The young King likewiſe ſweares vnto them, *Neuer to haue peace with his father without their conſents, and all ſweares to giue vnto* Philip *Earle of* Flanders, *for his ayde, a thouſand pounds* Engliſh *by the yeare, with the County of* Kent, Douer, *and* Rocheſter Caſtles: *To* Mathew *Earle of* Bologne *brother to the ſayd Earle for his ſeruice,* Kerton Soak *in* Lindſey, *the Earldome of* Morton *with the* Honour of Heize: *To* Theobald *Earle of* Bloys *two hundred pounds by yeare in* Aniou: *the Caſtle of* Amboys *with all the right he pretended in* Tureine *&c.* And all theſe Donations with diuers other, he confirmed by his *new Seale,* which the King of *France* cauſed to be made. Beſides, by the ſame Seale, *He confirmed to the King of* Scots, *for his ayde, all* Northumberland *vnto* Tyne: *and gaue to the brother of the ſame King, for his ſeruice, the Earldomes of* Huntingdon, *and* Cambridge. *To the Earle* Hugh Bigot *the Caſtle of* Norwich: *other Earles of* England, *as* Robert *Earle of* Leiceſter, Hugh *Earle of* Cheſter, Roger Mowbray *&c. had likewiſe their rewards and promiſes of the* Lions Skin, *that was yet aliue.*

Beſides, they draw into their partie *Richard*, and *Geffrey*: whoſe youths (apt to bee wrought on, for increaſe of their allowance) are eaſily intiſed; and with them their mother inraged with iealoſie, and diſdaine for her husbands conceiued abuſes of her bed. So that, this great King in the middeſt of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, comes ſodainely forſaken of his owne people, and is driuen through diſtruſt to hire, and entertaine ſtrange forces; procuring twenty thouſand *Brabanſons* (which were certaine Mercenaries commonly called the Routs or Coſterels) for the recouery and holding of his Eſtate. And ſome few faithfull Miniſters hee had (notwithſtanding this generall defection) who tooke firmly to him: as *William* Earle *Mandeuile, Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Beauchamp, &c.*

But howſoeuer we haue ſeene the beſt of this Kings glory, and though he had after this, good ſucceſſes, hee had neuer happineſſe: labour hee did by all meanes to haue qualified the heate of his diſtempered ſon, by many mediations of peace: offring all conuenient allowances for his Eſtate, but all would not preuaile: his ſword is drawne, and with him the King of *France* with all his forces enters vpon his territories on that ſide the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* ſeizes vpon *Northumberland*; and makes great ſpoyles. The olde King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the vnnaturall courſes of his ſon, and of his owne improuident aduancing him. *William* King of *Sicile* writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* beſieges *Vernoul* a place of great ſtrength, and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monthes ſiege, they of the towne (victualls fayling) obtained truce of the King of *France* and permiſſion to ſend vnto their Soueraigne for ſuccour, *Which if it came not within three daies, they would render the Citty, and in the meane time their hoſtages.* The peremptorie day was the Eue of Saint *Laurence.* The King of *France* with King *Henry* the ſon, and with diuers great Lords and Biſhops ſwore, if they rendred the Citty at the day appointed, their hoſtages ſhould bee redeliuered, and no dammage done to the Cittie.

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces he could make came iuſt at the limitted day; diſpoſes his Army to ſtrike battaile with his enemies; but the King of *France* to auoyde the ſame, ſends the Archbiſhoppe of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys* to mediate a parle, which was appointed the morrow: this day loſt, loſt *Vernoul*. For, to the morrow Parle, the King of *France* neither comes, nor ſends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to couenants) which contrary to his Oath, he ſackes, takes with him the hoſtages, and ſpoyle thereof: remoues his Campe, and leaues the King of *England* diſappointed; who that night, after hauing perſued the flying Army with ſome ſpoyle, enters into *Vernoul*, and the morrow ſurpriſes *Danuile* a Caſtle of his enemies, with many priſoners. Thence he goes to *Rouen*, whence, hee ſent his *Brabanſons* into *Brittaine* againſt *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ralph Fulgiers*, who had poſſeſt themſelues almoſt of the whole Country; but being not able to reſiſt the Kings forces in the field, they with all the great men in thoſe parts, and that ſide of *France* recouered the Caſtle of *Dole*; where, they fortified and kept themſelues, till King *Henry* the Father came in perſon, beſieged and tooke it: and with them, about foure ſcore Lords, men of name and action. Whereupon all the reſt of the Countrey yeelded themſelues.

This ouerthrow being of ſuch import, ſo terrified the aduerſaries, as they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene *Giſors* and *Try*, wherein the King of *England* (though he had the better of the day) condeſcended to make offer to his ſon *of halfe the reuennes of the Crowne of* England, *with foure conuenient Caſtles therein*; or if hee had rather remaine in Normandy, *halfe the reuennes thereof, and all the reuennes of the Earledome of* Aniou *&c.* To his ſon *Richard* hee offers *halfe the reuennes of* Aquitaine, *and foure Caſtles in the ſame.* To Geffrey, *the Land that ſhould come vnto him by the daughter of the Earle* Conon. Beſides, *hee ſubmitted himſelfe to the arbitration of the Archbiſhop of* Tarento, *and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their iudgements ſhould be held fit*, reſeruing vnto himſelfe *his Iuſtice and royall power*: which yeelding grants, ſhewed how much he deſired this peace.

But it was not in the purpoſe of the King of *France*, that the ſame ſhould take effect: for ſuch peruerſneſſe and indignitie was offered to King *Henry* in this Treaty, as *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter* is ſayd to haue reproched him to his face, and offered to draw his ſword vpon him; ſo that, they brake off in turbulent manner, and their troupes fell preſently to bickering betweene *Curteles*, and *Giſors*, but the *French* had the worſe.

The Earle of *Leiceſter* with an Army makes ouer into *England*, is receiued by *Hugh Bigot* into the Caſtle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, and *Humfrey Bohun* the Kings Conſtable, being vpon the borders of *Scotland*, hearing thereof, make truce with the King of Scots. And haſte to Saint *Edmondsburie* where the Earles of *Cornwall*, *Glocester*, and *Arundell* ioyne with them; they encounter the Earle of *Leiceſter*, at a place called *Farnham*, ouerthrew his Army, ſlue tenne thouſand Flemings; tooke him, his Wife, and diuers great priſoners, which were ſent vnto the King in Normandie; who, with his Army was not there idle, but dayly got Caſtles, and Forts from his Enemies, vntill Winter conſtrained both Kings to take truce till Eaſter following: and the like did the Biſhop of *Dureſme* with the King of *Scots*, for which he gaue him three thouſand Markes of ſiluer, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

1174. *Anno Reg.* 20.

Henry the fathers arriuall in England.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King *Henry* the Sonne, and *Philippe* Earle of Flaunders, are readie at *Grauelin* with a great Armie for *England*. The King of *Scots* is entred *Northumberland*, and ſends his brother *Dauid* with a power to ſuccour the remnant of the forces of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, which held the Towne of *Leiceſter*, but without ſucceſſe: for *Richard Lucy*, and the Earle of *Cornwall* had before raced the Citty, and taken *Robert Mombray*, comming likewiſe to ayde thoſe of the Caſtle.

King *Henry* the Father vpon his Sonnes preparation for *England*, drawes his forces from his other imployments, and brings them downe to *Barbfleet*, arriues at *Southampton* with

with his prisoners, Queene *Elionor*, *Margueret* the wife of his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Chester*, and from thence goes to *Canterbury* to visit the Sepulcher of his owne Martyre, and performe his vowes for his victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, *Hee alights, and went three miles on his bare feete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeild blondie tokens of his deuotion on the way.* And as, if to recompence (the merit of this worke) they note, *How the verie day when hee departed from* Canterbury, *the King of* Scots *to bee ouerthrowne and taken at* Alnwick, by the forces of the Knights of Yorkeshire, which are named to bee: *Robert de Stutenile, Odonel de Humfreuile, William de Vescy, Ralph de Glannile, Ralph de Tilly,* and *Bernard Baliol.*

King *Henry* visits *Beckets* Sepulcher.

Lewis King of *France*, hearing of King *Henries* passage into *England*, and the taking of the King of *Scots*, calls backe *Henry* the son, and the Earle of *Flaunders* from *Graueling*, where, they stayed expecting the winde, and besieged *Roan* on all sides sauing that of the Riuer. The whilst King *Henry* is quieting and settling the State of *England*, where hee had first the Castle of *Huntingdon* rendred vnto his mercie, sauing the liues, and members of the defendants: then the Castles of *Fremingham* and *Burgaie* which the Earle of *Bigot* helde by force of *Flemings*, for whom (the Earles submission could hardly obtaine pardon) but in the ende they were sent home. From thence hee goes to *Northampton*: where, hee receiues the King of *Scots* his prisoner, and the Castles of *Duresme*, *Norham*, and *Alnerton* rendred into his hands by the Bishoppe of *Duresme*; who, for all his seruice done in the North, stood not cleere in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither *Roger de Mowbray* yeelding vp himselfe with his Castle of *Tresko*: the Earle *Ferrers* his Castles of *Tutsbury* and *Duffield*: *Anketill, Mallory*, and *William Diue*, Constables of the Earle of *Leicester*, the Castles of *Leicester, Mountsorill*, and *Groby*; so that within three weekes, all *England* was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly daies seemed only reserued for the field.

The King of Scots his prisoner.

This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen; King *Henry* with his prisoners, the King of *Scots*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, passes ouer into *Normandy*, to the releefe of *Roan*: where those thousand Welshmen sent ouer the riuer *Siene*, entred, and made way through the Campe of the King of *France*; slue a hundred of his men, and recouered a wood without any losse of theirs. After which exploit, the King of *England* (causing the gates of the Citie, to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the *French* Campe and the Citty, to bee filled vp againe, with rubbish and timber) marched foorth with troupes, to prouoke the enemy, but without any answere at all. In the end the King of *France*, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, vpon sufferance of the King of *England* by the mediation of the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys*, who vndertooke that he should the next day come to a parle of peace, which hee performed not.

King *Henry* fauours the French army.

But shortly after (seeing this action had so little aduantaged either him, or those for whom hee pretended to haue vndertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of *England*: and peace with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him, and his sons. But with more reseruation on his part, then had beene by the former treatie offered, as hauing now, more of power, and the aduantage of fortune: and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, *the goodnesse of his Nature was not ouer-swayed by his ambition*; all his proceeding in this warre witnessing, that *necessity did euer worke more then his will.*

The King and his sonne reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes. *Rog. Houen.*

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne *Henry* would haue done him homage (which is personall seruice) he refused to take it, because hee was a King, but receiued it of *Richard*, and *Geffrey*. Yet after this, *Henry* the son to free his father of all scruple, became his Liege-man, and swore Fealty vnto him against all men in the presence of the Archbishop of *Roan*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Earle *Mandeuile*, and a great Nobility.

Vide Append.

At the concluding of this Peace, the Earle of *Flaunders* yeelded vp to King

Henry the Father, the Charter made vnto him by the Son for his remuneration, and had another confirmed for the penſion hee had yearely out of *England* before this war, which was *one thouſand Markes out of the Exchequer*, afterward granted vpon condition *of Homage, and for finding the King of* England *yearely five hundred ſouldiers for the ſpace of fortie daies vpon ſummons giuen.*

This buſineſſe ended, the Father and Sonne make their Progreſſes into all their Prouinces on that ſide, to viſit and reforme the diſorders of Warre, and to ſettle their affaires there. *Richard* is ſent into *Aquitaine*: and *Geffrey* into *Brittaine*, vpon the ſame buſineſſe, and there left with their Counſells to looke to their owne.

1175. *Anno Reg.* 21. *Vide* Append.

The two Kings, Father and Son ſhortly after returne into *England*, where reformation in the Gouernment needed as much as in *France*: and here had the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* ſommoned a Councell of the Clergy, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee ſeene in the Canons of that Synod. The King ſupplies all Vacancies, and giues to *Iohn de Oxenford*, (that great Miniſter of his) the Biſhopricke of *Norwich*: then takes hee into his hands all the Caſtles hee could ſeize on; amongſt other the Tower of *Briſtoll*, which was rendred by the Earle of *Gloceſter* and was neuer in his hands before. *He takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had treſpaſſed his Forreſts in time of Hoſtility*: for which he is taxed of wrong, *Richard Lucy* Iuſtice of *England*, hauing warrant by the Kings precept to diſcharge them for the ſame. But the profit which they yeelded him made him take the ſtricter regard therein. For after the death of *Alain de Neuile* which had beene chiefe Iuſtice of all the Forreſts of *England*, he deuides them into diuers parts, appointing *to euery part foure Iuſtices*, whereof *two to be Clerkes*, and *two, Knights*, and *two, Seruants of his Houſhold, to be Keepers of the Game ouer all other Forreſters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatſoeuer, and gaue them power to implea, according to the Aſſiſe of the Forreſt.*

All Vacancies ſupplied by the King.

1176. *Anno Reg.* 22. *Vide* Append.

The King beeing at Yorke, there came vnto him *William* King of *Scots*, with almoſt all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Nobility of *Scotland*, and confirmed the Peace, and finall concorde which had formerly beene, in the time of his impriſonment, at *Faleiſe* in *Normandy*: before all the greateſt Eſtates of both Kingdomes; the Tenour whereof is to be ſeene in *Roger Houeden*.

After this, a Councell is called at *Windſor*, whither repaire certaine Biſhoppes of *Ireland*, and the Chauncelour of *Roderic* King of *Conaught*, for whom a finall concord is concluded, vpon doing Homage, Fealty, and a tribute to be paide, which was, *of euery tenne Beaſts, one ſufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and thoſe Prouinces that held thereof.*

The Kingdom deuided into ſixe parts for Iuſtice. *Vide* Append.

Within a while after, a Councell or Parliament is aſſembled at *Nottingham*, and by aduice and conſent thereof, the King cauſed *The Kingdome to be deuided into ſixe parts, and conſtitutes for euery part three Iuſtices itinerants, cauſing them to take an Oath vpon the Holy Euangeliſts, faithfully for themſelues to obſerue, and cauſe inuiolably to be obſerued of all his Subiectes of* England, *the Aſſiſes made at* Claringdone, *and remoued at* Northampton, which Aſſiſes were chiefly *for Murther, Theft, Robbery, and their receiuers: for deceipes, and burning of Houſes*, which facts if found *by the Verdict of twelue men*, the *accuſed* were to paſſe the tryall *of Water Ordeil*, whereby, if not acquitted, *their puniſhment*, was *loſſe of a legge, or baniſhment*, that Age ſeeming to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miſerably liuing, then of one dead, for as yet they came *not ſo far as bloud*, in thoſe caſes. *Vide* Append.

And yet wee finde in the reigne of this King, that one *Gilbert Plumton* Knight, accuſed for a Rape, before *Ranulph de Glanuile*, chiefe Iuſtice of *England* (deſirous, ſayth *Houeden* by vniuſt ſentence to condemne him) was adiuged, to bee hanged on a Gibbet; whereunto, when he was brought, and in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, *That an innocent and iuſt perſon ought not ſo to ſuffer.* Balduin Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a religious man and fearing God, hearing the clamor of the people, and the iniury done to this miſerable creature, came foorth, and

and forbade them, *from the part of the Omnipotent God, and vnder paine of Excommunition that they ſhould not put him to death that day, being Holy, and the Feaſt of Saint* Mary Magdalene; whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commanded *a ſtay to bee made till other order were taken*, being informed that for the enuie which *Glanuile* bare to this *Plumton*, hee was deſirous to put him to death, in regard hee had married the daughter of *Roger Gulwaſt* an inheritrix, whom hee would haue had *Reiner* his Shriefe of Yorkeſhire to haue had; which act leaues a foule ſtaine of Iniuſtice vpon the memory of this Chiefe Iuſtice *Glanuile*: in the time of whoſe Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Cuſtomes of the Kingdome of *England* was compoſed, which now paſſes vnder his name.

The charge giuen for buſineſſes in theſe Aſſiſes conſiſted but of very few points beſides thoſe fellonies, and was eſpecially *for taking Homage, and Ligeancie of all the Subiects of* England: *demoliſhing of Caſtles, the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequor.* The multitude of actions which followed in ſucceeding times, grew out of new tranſgreſſions, and the increaſe of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

Vide Append.

1177. *Anno* *Reg.* 13.

William King of *Sicile* ſends and craues to haue *Ioan* the Kings daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the vniuerſall Councell of the Kingdome graunted his daughter to the King of *Sicile*; to whom ſhe was ſhortly after ſent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities, and Caſtles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King.

William King of Sicile matches with *Ioan* the Kings Daughter. *Rog. Houed.*

But the great Match that was prouided for Earle *Iohn* became fruſtrate by the death of *Alice*, daughter to the Earle of *Mauriana*, and he is married to the daughter of *William* Earle of *Gloceſter*, by whom he was to haue that Earldeome. This *William* was ſon to *Robert* brother to *Maude* the Empreſſe.

Vide Append.

The ſame yeare alſo hee marries *Elionor* another of his daughtes to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and takes vp the controuerſie betweene him, and his Vncle *Sanctio* King of *Nauarre*, about the detention of certaine bordering peeces, of each others Kingdome, both the Kings hauing referred the buſineſſe to his arbitration.

1178. *Anno* *Reg.* 24.

Likewiſe the marriage which ſhould haue beene betweene his ſonne *Richard*, and *Alice* daughter to the *French* King (committed heretofore to his cuſtodie) was againe treated on, and vrged hard, by the Popes Legat to bee conſummated vpon paine of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithſtanding concluded a perpetuall League, and amitie to ayd each other againſt all men, and to bee Enemies to each others Enemies. Beſides, they both vowed an expedition, to the Holy Land in perſon, which they liued not to performe.

The King of *France* vpon a dangerous ſickeneſſe of his ſonne *Philip*, vowes a viſitation of the Sepulcher of *Thomas* the Martyre of *Canterbury*: and vpon licence, and ſafe conduct of the King of *England*, performes the ſame with great deuotion, and Rich preſents. Firſt, *offering vpon his Tombe, a maſſie Cup of Gold*, and after *gaue, and confirmed by his Charter* 3000 *ſixe hundred Sextaries of wine* for the Monkes, annually to bee receiued at *Poiſſi*, at the charge of the King of *France*: and beſide, freed them from all Tolle, and Cuſtome, for whatſoeuer they ſhould buy in his Kingdome.

A Sextarie is eight Engliſh quarts, and 36 Sextaries is a Modius of wine. *Bud.*

1179. *Anno* *Reg.* 25.

After hauing ſtayed there three dayes, hee returnes towardes *France*, conducted by the King of *England* to Douer. The Son recouers health, but the Father loſt his in this iourney; for comming to Saint *Deniſe*, hee was taken with a Palſie, and liued not long after. The weakeneſſe of his Age, and diſeaſe mooued him preſently to haue his ſon *Philippe* (beeing but fifteene yeares of Age) to be crowned King in his life time, which was done at *Reimes*, *Anno* 1179.

1180. *Anno* *Reg.* 26.

Henry Duke of *Saxonie* (who had married *Maude* daughter to King *Henry*) was expelled his Dutchie, and baniſhed by the Emperour *Frederic* the third for ſeuen yeares,

for detayning the reuenues which the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* had out of *Saxonie*; and refuſing to come vnto tryall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his faith, and promiſe made to the Emperour. So that hee was driuen to come (for ſuccour with his Wife and Children) to his Father in Law, into *England*. Where hee remained three yeares, and vpon the comming of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* to viſit the Sepulchet of *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, meanes was wrought to reſtore him to his Dutchie: and a motion is made of marriage for *Richard* the Kings ſon, with the daughter of the Emperor *Frederic* (notwithſtanding the contract made with *Alice* daughter to the King of *France* long before) but this laſt intention was made fruſtrate, by the death of the Emperours daughter.

King *Henry* ſends his ſon *Iohn* to reſide in *Ireland*, to the end (that the Maieſtie of a Court, and the number of attendants which the ſame would draw thither) might both awe, and ciuiliſe that Countrey: but hee being accompanied with many gallants, young as himſelfe, who ſcorning, and deriding the Iriſh (in regard of their rude habits, and faſhions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greateſt Kings (Limmeric, Conact, and Corke) into open act of rebellion: *Gens enim hæc, ſicut & natio quæuis barbara, quanquam honorem neſciant, honorati tamen, ſupra modum affectant*, ſayth *Giraldus Cambrenſis*.

Now this faire time of peace, which King *Henry* enioyed gaue him leaſure to ſeeke out all meanes to ſupply his coffers, wherein hee was very vigilant: and hearing of the great ſummes (which *Roger* Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, had giuen by his Teſtament to godly vſes) ſends Commiſſioners to finde out, and to ſeize the ſame to his owne vſes, alledging, *That the Archbiſhop had giuen Iudgement in his life time, that it was againſt Law, any Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould diſpoſe any thing by will (vnleſſe before he were ſicke,)* and that himſelfe had done contrary to his owne Decree. The Commiſſioners hauing found out, that *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* had receiued of the Archbiſhop three hundred Markes of ſiluer to bee beſtowed in thoſe vſes, demaund the ſame for the King. The Biſhop replies, *That hauing receiued it from the hands of the Archbiſhoppe, he had according to his will, diſtributed the ſame amongſt the Leprous, Blinde, and Lame; in repayring Churches, Bridges, and Hoſpitalls: ſo that who would haue it, muſt gather it vp againe of them.* Which anſwere ſo diſpleaſed the King, as (beſides the ſeizing vpon the Caſtle of *Dures'm*) hee wrought this Biſhop much vexation.

The King ſends after monies giuen to pious vſes by Teſtators of the Clergy.

His meanes certaine (beſides the reuenue of his Demeſne, and the benefit of the Forreſts) were not then great in *England*; which cauſed him oftentimes in his neceſſities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices vacant: as hee did the Biſhopricke of *Lincolne* eighteene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in *England*, which was round, decryed the Olde, and put all the Coyners to great ranſome for corrupting the olde money. And beſides to ſaue his purſe (in regard the continuall charge of Horſe, and Armour was heauie vnto him,) hee cauſed euerie mans Lands, and ſubſtance to bee rated for the furniſhing thereof. And firſt beganne the ſame, in his Dominions beyond the Seas: ordayning, *That whoſoeuer had a hundred pounds Anioüin money in goods, and chattle, ſhould finde a Horſe, and all Militarie furniture thereunto: and whoſoeuer had in chattle fortie, thirty, or twenty pounds Anioüin money, ſhould finde a Corſlet, Head-peece, Launce and Sword: or Bow and Arrowes,* with a ſtrict prohibition, *That no man ſhould ſell, or pawne his Armour, but be bound to leaue it when he died, to his next heire.* And this Order afterward, he eſtabliſhed in *England*, by conſent of the State. The King of *France*, and the Earle of *Flaunders* by his example did the like in their Countreys.

The Vacancie of Lincolne held 18 yeares to the Kings vſe.

Vide Append. 1181.

Anno. *Reg.* 17.

Great, and manifold were the expences of this mightie King, in reſpect of his entertainments, penſions, and rewards, hauing ſo wide an Eſtate, and ſo many euer in his worke, both of his owne, and others who muſt alwayes be feed. And beſides, oftentimes he is faine to bribe the Popes Legates, in his buſineſſe with the King of *France*, to haue them fauourable for his ends: to ſend many ſupplies, by their perſwaſions, and for his owne reputation, to the Holy warre.

Anno

1182. *Anno Reg.* 28. *Vide* Append. *Henry* 2. relieues Pope *Lucius* and the *Ieroſolomitans* with great ſummes of gold and ſiluer

Anno 1182 (ſaith *Walſingham*) hee relieued the neceſſity of the *Ieroſolomitans*, with two and forty thouſand Markes of ſiluer, and fiue hundred Markes of gold, which was in money, ſeuen and forty thouſand, three hundred, thirty three poundes, ſixe ſhillings eight pence. And when Pope *Lucius* diſtreſſed by the *Romans*, deſired an ayde out of *England*, the King ſent him a mighty ſumme of Gold and Siluer; in leauying whereof, the Clergy here delt very circumſpectly: for when the Popes *Nuncij* came to deſire the ſame, they aduiſed the King; that according to his will, and honour, hee himſelfe ſhould ſupplie the Popes occaſion, as well for himſelfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord, and King, ſhould receiue from them, the returne of that ayde, then that the Popes *Nuncij* ſhould; which might bee taken for a cuſtome to the detriment of the Kingdome.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and Son, when againe new flames of vnnaturall diſcord began to breake out; the occaſion whereof as farre as can be diſcouered (in the vncertaine paſſages of that time) we finde to be this.

1183. *Anno Reg.* 29. Great feſtiuals oftentimes breake vp with great diſcontentments.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Chriſtmas kept at *Cane* in *Normandy*, with his Sons *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*, the Duke of *Saxony* with his Wife and Children, beſides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King *Henry* his Son to take the Homages of his brother *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine*. *Richard* refuſes to doe it (but vpon perſwaſion) beeing afterwards content; his brother refuſes to take the ſame. Whereupon with great indignation *Richard* departs from his Fathers Court into *Poictou*: mans, and furniſhes his Caſtles there. The King his brother followes by inſtigation of the Barons of *Poictou* and *Aquitaine* who were falne from *Richard*, and adhered to the young King (as men that vnderſtood what would become of younger brothers eſtates in ſuch Dominions, where the elder brothers birthright, and power, would carry all) and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine* takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to aide him.

Richard ſends for ſuccour to his father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to conſtraine them to a peace, then to make warre) came downe into *Poictou*, where againe his three Sons after the debatement of their grieuances ſwore to obey, and ſerue their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themſelues. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete all at *Mirabel*; where *Henry* the Son, deſires, that the Barons of *Poictou*, and *Aquitaine* (whom he had ſworne to defend againſt his brother *Richard*) might be there at the concluding this peace, and to be pardoned for any former act committed. Which requeſt is granted, and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine* ſent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not ſafe, or not profitable) ſo worke, as they win the meſſenger to take their part againſt the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry and his ſonnes accorded.

Henry the ſon notwithſtanding, continues to mediate ſtill for the Barons, and to get his Father, and brother *Richard* to receiue them into grace. And vndertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffrey*; is permitted by the Father to goe treat with them at *Limoges*, whither alſo, by another way, and with ſmall company, it was agreed the Father ſhould come, which he did; but his approach was met with arrowes, ſo dangerouſly ſhot at his perſon, as the next man to him was ſlaine, and himſelfe with his ſon *Richard*, forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, deſirous out of a fatherly affection to haue conference with his ſons for the quiet ending of this buſineſſe, (vpon their aſſurance of his ſafety) hee enters into the City: when againe from the Caſtle is ſhot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the breaſt, had not his horſe by the ſuddaine liſting vp his head receiued it in the forehead. Which act his ſonnes neuer ſought to finde out and puniſh, but ſtill, vnderhand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithſtanding King *Henry* the ſonne comes to the Father, and proteſts, that vnleſſe the Barons would come and yeelde themſelues at the Kings feete, he would vtterly renounce them: And after, hauing againe (vpon his fathers promiſe of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding as hee auowed their obſtinacy, made ſhew to forſake their party, and returnes to his Father with great ſubmiſſion, deliuering

liuering vp vnto him his horſe and Armour in aſſurance thereof.

But many dayes he ſpent not with him, when againe (either for the intended reuenge hee found his Father meant to proſecute againſt the Barons) whoe protection hauing vndertaken, hee held himſelfe in his honour, engaged to preſerue: or by the working of ſome mutinous miniſters about him, whoſe element was not peace: hee againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power ſhort of his will, and deſperate of all ſucceſſe in his courſes; hee ſuddenly breakes out into an extreame paſſion before his Father, falles proſtrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martial*, and vowes preſently to takes vpon him the Croſſe, and to giue ouer all worldly buſineſſe beſide.

The inconſtancy of King *Henry* the ſon.

His vow.

With which ſtrange and ſudden paſſion, the Father much mooued, beſought his ſon with teares to alter that raſh reſolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation, or religion induced him thereunto. The Son proteſts, that it was meerely for the remiſſion of his ſins, committed againſt his perſon. And, vnleſſe his Father would now giue him leaue (without which he could not goe) he would there inſtantly kill himſelfe in his preſence. The father (after hauing vſed all meanes to diſſwade him, and finding him ſtill obſtinate) ſaid vnto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours: for your furniſhing I will take ſuch order as ſhall befit your Eſtate.*

His reſolution.

The ſon (whilſt the Fathers paſſion had made him tender) wrought thereupon, and beſought him, that he would deale mercifully with thoſe of the Caſtle of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the father in the end (though vnwillingly) yeelds, ſo that, they would put in their pledges for ſecuring their fidelity, and the peace; which they ſeemed content to doe. But vpon the deliuery, and receiuing of theſe pledges, new ryots were committed by ſuch as could not endure the peace (which is neuer faithfull, but where men are voluntarily pacified:) and theſe young Princes againe take part with their confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and ſacriledge to ſupply their neceſſities, and feed their followers. And in the end the young King hauing much ſtrugled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of ſpirit (which cauſed the diſtemperature of body) fell into a burning feuer with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes he dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was firſt caſt away by his fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not ſuffering him to be what himſelfe had made him, neither got hee ſo much by his Coronation, as to haue a name *in the Catalogue* of the Kings of *England*.

His requeſt for the Barons of *Aquitaine*.

His death.

The ſorrow of the father (although it be ſaid to be great) hindred not his reuenge vpon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now moſt eagerly perſecuted, ſeazed on their Caſtles, and raced to the ground that of *Lymoges*.

Earle *Geffreyes* ſubmiſſion and death.

Geffrey vpon his ſubmiſſion, is receiued into grace, and the yeare after died at *Paris*: hauing (in a conflict) bene troden vnder horſes feete, and miſerably cruſhed: ſo that halfe the male iſſue wherein this King was vnfortunate, he ſaw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their diſpoſitions. The other two, who ſuruiued him, were no leſſe miſerable in their ends.

Now the young King of *France*, *Philip* the ſecond (in whoſe fate it was, to doe more then euer his father could effect, vpon the death of *Henry* the ſon) requires the deliuery of the Countrey of *Vexin*, which was giuen in dowre with his Siſter *Margaret*, but the King of *England* (not apt to let goe any thing of what he had in poſſeſſion) was content to pay yeerely to the Queene *Dowager*, 17050. pounds *Aniouin*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whoſe ſpirit, hee ſaw, grew great, and actiue, and with whom he was like to haue much to doe, did homage vnto him, for all hee held in *France*, which he neuer did to the Father, being the firſt deſcent of Maieſtie, hee euer made to any ſecular power. And beſide, tooke his part againſt *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who oppoſed againſt him, and was in thoſe dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had euer ſtood faſt vnto King *Lewes* the father. But now *Philip* the ſon otherwiſe led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demands the Countrey of *Vermendois*, as appertaining to the Crowne of *France*: and withall, vpon allegation of conſanguinity repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, giuen vnto him by his Fathers choice

1184. *Anno Reg.* 30. *Henry* the ſecond doth homage to *Philip* King of *France*.

choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Burgogne*, the Earles of *Champagne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, Saint *Pol*, and others, warres vpon the King of *France*, and commits great ſpoyles within his territories, ſo that hee was faine in the end to compound with him to his diſaduantage. After this, the Kings of *England*, and *France*, meete betweene *Giſors*, and *Trie*; where the King of *England* ſweares to deliuer *Alice*, vnto *Richard* his ſon, And the King of *France* her brother grants her in dowre, the Countrey of *Velxin*, which *Margueret* his other Siſter had before.

The Earle of *Flanders* compels the King of *France* to compound.

But theſe tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* ſo wrought with *Richard*, as hee drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they liued together in that amity, as one bed and boord is ſaid to haue ſerued them, both which ſo enicaloſed the old King, as he called home his ſon, and before his Biſhops and Nobility, cauſed him to ſweare vpon the Euangeliſts, to obſerue fealty vnto him, againſt all perſons whatſoeuer: which hauing done; and ready to paſſe ouer into *England*, hee is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gaue out that hee would ſpoyle, and ranſacke both *Normandy*, and the reſt of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; vnleſſe he would preſently deliuer vp his ſiſter *Alice* vnto *Richard*, or render *Giſors*, and the Countrey of *Velxin* into his hands. Whereupon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Giſors* and *Try*. Where, the Archbiſhop of *Tyre* (ſent from the *Eaſt* to call vp ayde for the Holy warre) did with that power of perſwaſion ſo vrge his meſſage, as it let out all the humor of priuate rancor and contention, betweene theſe two great Kings, altered their whole Counſels, their pretenſions, their deſignes: turned them wholly to vndertake in perſon this laborious action, and reſolue to leaue their Kingdomes, their pleaſures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to proſecute the ſame, through all the diſtemperatures of climes, and difficulties of paſſages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: ſo that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furniſhments for this buſineſſe.

1185. *Anno Reg.* 31.

The Kings of *England* and *France* accorded, and prepare for the holy warre.

And to diſtinguiſh their people, and followers (who all ſtroue which ſhould bee moſt forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, ſhould weare a white Croſſe: *France* a red: and *Flanders* a greene: And for a further ingagement in the buſineſſe, the King of *England* writes to the Partriarch of *Antioch*, a moſt comfortable and pious letter: in the end whereof he hath theſe words, *Amongſt other Princes, I and my Son, reiecting the glory of this world, and deſpiſing all the pleaſures thereof, in proper perſon, with all our ſtrength, will, God willing, viſite you ſhortly.*

Then to raiſe money to defray this great enterprize, it was ordained by the two Kings, their Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earles, and others in *France*, that all whoſoeuer, as well Clerke as Lay (ſauing ſuch as went the voyage) ſhould pay the tenth of all their reuenues of that yeere, and the tenth of all their Moueables and Chattles; as well in gold as ſiluer. And many excellent orders were made for reſtraint of licentiouſneſſe both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the vndertakers of ſo ciuill and deuout an action.

The King of *England* hauing layde this impoſition vpon all his Dominions in *France*, comes ouer, calls a Councell of his Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, Barons, both of the Clergy, and Laiety at *Gayntington*, and by their conſents impoſes the ſame taxation vpon his Subiects of *England*. *Sub Eleemoſina titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, ſayth *Walſingham*, and preſently ſends forth his Officers into euery Shire to collect the ſame according as it was done in *France*. But of euery City in *England*, hee cauſed a choyce to be made of the richeſt men: as in *London* of two hundred, in *Yorke* a hundred, and ſo according to the proportion of the reſt: and cauſed all theſe, at a certaine time and place to appeare before him; of whom he tooke the tenth of all their Moueables, by the eſtimation of credible men which knew their eſtates: ſuch as refuſed hee impriſoned till they had payde it, of which example and exaction, wee muſt onely hold Piety guilty: otherwiſe thoſe times had not yeelded it.

1186. *Anno Reg.* 33.

The King ſends likewiſe *Hugh* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, with other Commiſſioners, to *William*

Prouiſion by King *Henry* in *England.*

William King of *Scots* to collect the tenthes in his Countrey, which hee would not permit, but offered to giue the King of *England* fiue thouſand Markes of ſiluer for thoſe tenthes, and the Caſtle which he claimed, but the King of *England* refuſed the ſame.

1187. *Anno Reg.* 33.

Whilſt theſe preparations were in hand, and the money collecting, a quarrell ariſes betweene *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouſe*, vpon this occaſion. The Earle of *Tholouſe* by the perſwaſion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and vſed them hardly. The Earle of *Poictou* ſurprizes this *Peter*, impriſons him, and would not ſuffer the Earle of *Tholouſe* to redeeme him, vpon any condition. Whereupon the Earle impriſons two Gentlemen ſeruants of the King of *Englands*, *Robert*, and *Ralph Poer*, trauelling through his Countrey (as Pilgrimes) from S. *Iames de Compoſtella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke ſo ill, as he enters into the Earles countrey with an Army (prepared for a better act) waſtes it with fire and ſword, beſieges and takes his Caſtles about *Tholouſe*. The King of *France* (vpon the lamentable complaint of the *Tholouſians*) ſends to the King of *England* to vnderſtand, whether his ſon *Richard* did theſe things by his will and Counſell. The King of *England* anſwers, *That he neither willed nor counſelled him thereunto, and that his ſonne ſent him word (by the Archbiſhop of* Dublin) *that he did nothing, but by the conſent of the King of* France. Who (not ſatisfied with this anſwer) enters preſently into *Bery* with his Army, ſeazes vpon the Countrey; takes in diuers Caſtles of the King of *Englands*, who makes himſelfe ready to recouer the ſame. And thus that great intended enterpriſe, vndertaken with ſuch feruor, became daſht, and ouerthrowne, at the very time, they appointed to haue ſet forward.

A meane quarrell daſhes and diuerts the great preparation for the holy warre, and layes it vpon the ſelfe kingdomes.

1188. *Anno Reg.* 34.

All the meanes the Pope could vſe by his Legates, nor all the perſwaſions of other Princes might preuaile, to reconcile theſe two inraged Kings, though diuerſe enteruiewes were procured, diuerſe ouertures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they euer depart more incenſed then they meet: in ſo much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene *Giſors* and *Tyr*) vnder which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were euer vſed to parle, and ſwore, *There ſhould bee no more meetings in that place.* But yet after this, they were brought to another parle elſewhere, and therein the Popes Legate threatned to interdict the King of *France*, vnleſſe hee made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his ſentence, being grounded vpon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by ſentence, or otherwiſe, to chaſtiſe the Kingdome, or King of *France*, vndertaking to reuenge the demerits of the rebellious, that diſhonored his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he ſmelled of the Sterlings of England.*

The King of *France* cuts downe the moſt eminent Elme of Princely parlay.

This enteruiew, wrought a worſe effect then all the reſt: for heere the King of *England* (abſolutely) refuſes to render *Alice* to his ſon *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to giue her to his ſon *Iohn*, with larger conditions, then ſhould bee granted with the other: which ſo much alienated the heart of his ſon *Richard*, as hee becomes wholly Liegeman to the King of *France*, did homage vnto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both ioyne their forces againſt the Father.

Earle *Richard* (with the King of *France*) combine againſt his father King *Henry* 2.

And here now comes this mighty King of *England* (the greateſt of all the Chriſtian world in his time, or that the Kingdome euer ſaw) to fall quite aſunder; forſaken both of his ſubiects, and himſelfe letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatſoeuer: he who neuer ſaw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaues now the defence of *Mans*, and flies away with ſeuen hundred men (hauing promiſed the City, neuer to giue it ouer, in regard his Father was there buried, and himſelfe borne;) and afterward comes to his laſt parle, with the King of *France*, betweene *Turwin*, and *Arras*: where at their firſt meeting (no man ſuſpecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with ſo terrible a cracke lighted iuſt betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confuſed manner for that time.

1198. *Anno Reg.* 35.

Within a while after, they came together againe, when ſuddenly began as fearefull a thunder as the former: which ſo amazed the King of *England* (as he had falne off from his horſe) had he not beene ſupported by thoſe about him. And in this ſort, began the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of *England* yeelds to whatſoeuer conditions

ditions, the King of *France* required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that ſide (both Kings hauing at the beginning of this warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kind,) renders vp *Alice* for whom he had beene ſo much loden with ſcandall and turmoyle, vpon condition, ſhee ſhould be giuen in marriage to his Son *Richard* at his returne from the holy warre; and in the meane time to remaine in the cuſtody of any one of fiue whom *Richard* would nominate: grants that fealty bee giuen vnto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Beſides, couenants *to pay the King of* France 20000. *Markes of ſiluer for damnage done during theſe laſt warres. And that if he ſhould not performe theſe Articles, his Barons ſhould forſake to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of* France, *and Earle* Richard. *And for more caution, he yeeldes to deliuer vp the Cities of* Mans *and* Turcyn, *with diuers Caſtles into their Hands, &c.*

And here was an end of this buſineſſe, and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whoſe heart, not made of that temper to bow, burſt with the weight of a declining fortune. Some few howres before he died, he ſaw a liſt of their names who conſpired with the King of *France*, and Earle *Richard* againſt him: and finding therein his Son *Iohn* to be the firſt, falls into a grieuous paſſion, both curſing his Sons, and the day wherein himſelfe was borne: and in that diſtemperature departs the world, which ſo often himſelfe had diſtempered; hauing reigned 39. yeares, 7. moneths, and 5. dayes. His death.

His Son *Richard* approching the Corps, as it was carrying to be interred (adorned according to the manner of Kings with all royall ornaments open faced,) the bloud guſhed out of the noſtrils of the dead (a ſigne, vſually noted, of guiltineſſe) as if Nature yet after death, retained ſome intelligence in the veines, to giue notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an vnnaturall offender: at which ſight, *Richard* ſurprized with horror, is ſaid to haue burſt out into extreame lamentations. 1189. *Anno Reg.* 35.

Hee had iſſue by his wife *Elianor*, foure Sons, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffrey* and *Iohn*; beſides two other, *William* the eldeſt, and *Philip* the youngeſt but one, died young. Alſo three daughters; *Maude* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*: *Elianor* the wife of *Alfonſo* the eighth of that name King of *Caſtile*: *Ioan* giuen in marriage vnto *William* King of *Sicile*. Hee had alſo two naturall Sons, by *Roſamond* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, ſurnamed *Longeſpee*, in *Engliſh Long-Sword*, and *Geffrey* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, who after fiue yeares baniſhment in his brother King *Iohns* time died, *Anno* 1213. His Iſſue. *Vide Io. Speed.*

The firſt ſon *William* ſurnamed *Longeſpee*, Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his wife; daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, Son of Earle *Patricke*) had iſſue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, & *Stephen* Earle of *Vlſter*: *Ela* Conteſſe of *Warwicke*: *Ida* Lady *Beauchampe* of *Bedford*, and *Iſabel* Lady *Veſey*. His ſon, Earle *William* the ſecond, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret* wife of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is ſaid, King *Henry* had alſo a third naturall ſonne called *Morgan* (by the wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* or *Blewet* a Knight; he liued to be *Preuoſt* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Biſhopricke of *Dureſme*: and comming to *Rome* for a diſpenſation (becauſe his Baſtardy made him otherwiſe vncapeable) the *Pope* willed him to profeſſe himſelfe *Blewets* lawfull ſon, and not the Kings Naturall, promiſing to conſecrate him on that condition; but he (vſing the aduice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the *Pope*, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himſelfe to bee of blood Royall.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Henry the ſecond.

The

The Life, and reigne, of Richard the first.

Hee began his reigne the 6. of Iuly, aged 35.

1189. Anno Reg. 1.

RICHARD ſurnamed *Cœur de Lion* (borne at *Oxford*) ſucceeding his Father, firſt ſeizes vpon his Treaſure in *France*, being in the hands of *Stephan Thurnham* Seneſchall of *Normandy*, whom he impriſons with fetters, and manacles to extort the vttermoſt thereof. And then repaires to *Roan*, where, by *Walter* the Archbiſhop hee is girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, takes fealty both of the Clergy and Lay, and then goes to Parle and compoſe this buſineſſe with the King of *France*, which hee did by money; and obtained reſtitution of all ſuch peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late warres. Beſides, for his better ſtrength, hee giues in marriage *Maude* his Neece, daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Geffrey* ſon to the Earle of *Perch*.

During this ſtay and ſetling of his affaires in *France*, Queene *Elianor* his Mother, freed from her impriſonment (which ſhee had endured twelue yeares) hath power to diſpoſe of the buſineſſes of *England*, which eſpecially ſhe imployed in preparing the affections of the people *by pardons, and releuement of oppreſſions*, and then meetes her Son at *Wincheſter*. Where (beſides his Fathers treaſure which was 900000. pounds in gold, and ſiluer; beſides plate, Iewels and pretious ſtones) there fell vnto him by the death of *Geffrey Ridle* Biſhop of *Ely* dying inteſtate, 3060. Markes of ſiluer, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, celebrated the third day of September, 1189. at *Weſtminſter*, and imbrued with the miſerable ſlaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the City of *London*, who comming to offer their preſents, as an afflicted people, in a ſtrange Country, to a new King, in hope to get his fauour; were ſet vpon by the multitude, and many loſt both their liues and ſubſtance. The example of *London* wrought the like miſchiefe vpon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich*, Saint *Edmondsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford* and *Linne*.

The ſlaughter of the Iewes at the Coronation.

All this great Treaſure left to this King, was not thought ſufficient for this intended action of the Holy warre (which was ſtill on foote) but that all other wayes were deuiſed to raiſe more money, and the King ſells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergie and others. *Godfrey de Lucy* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter* bought two Mannors *Weregraue*, and *Menes*. The Abbot of Saint *Edmondsbury* the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thouſand Markes of ſiluer. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity palatinate of his whole Prouince, which occaſioned the King ieſtingly to ſay, what a cunning workeman hee was that *could make of an old Biſhop a new Earle*. Beſides hee grants to *William* King of *Scots* the Caſtles of *Berwicke* and *Roxborough* for 10000. Markes, and releaſeth him of thoſe couenants made and confirmed by his Charter vnto King *Henry* the ſecond, as extorted from him being then his priſoner, reſeruing vnto himſelfe onely ſuch rights, as had beene and were to bee performed, by his brother *Malcolin* to his Anceſtors the Kings of *England*.

Moreouer pretending to haue loſt his Signet, made a new, and proclamation that *whoſoeuer would ſafely enioy, what vnder the former Signet was granted, ſhould come to haue it confirmed by the new*, whereby hee raiſed great ſummes of money to the griefe of his ſubiects. Then procures he a power from the Pope, that whoſoeuer himſelfe pleaſed to diſmiſſe from the iourney, and leaue at home, ſhould be free from taking the Croſſe: and this likewiſe got him great Treaſure, which was leuied with much expedition by reaſon the King of *France*, in Nouember, after the Coronation, ſent the Earle of *Perch*, with other Commiſſioners to ſignifie to King *Richard*, how in a generall Aſſembly at *Paris*, he had ſolemnly ſworne vpon the Euangeliſts to bee ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had vndertaken the Croſſe, preſently vpon Eaſter next following, thence to ſet forward for the Holy Land. And for the aſſurance, and teſtimony thereof, hee ſends the Charter of this Deede vnto the King of *England*, requiring him and his Nobility, vnder their hands

to

to assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like maner concluded at a generall Councell held at *London*. And in December (hauing onely stayed but foure monthes in *England* after his Coronation) this King departs into *Normandie*, keepes his Christmas at *Rouen*, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of *France* at *Reimes*, where by Oath and writing vnder their hands and seales, with the faith giuen by all their Nobility on both sides, is confirmed a most strict Peace and Vnion betwixt both Kings, for the preseruation of each other and their Estates, with the orders concluded for their iourney. Which done, the King of *England* sends for Queene *Elionor* his mother, his brother *Iohn*, and the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Chester*, and others, which came vnto him to *Rouen*: where hee commits the especiall charge of this kingdome to *William Longshamp* Bishoppe of *Ely*, vnder the Title of Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and giues him one of his Seales, and the Custodie of the Tower of *London*: and confers vpon *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme* the Iusticeshippe of the North from *Humber* to *Scotland*, with the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, which after gaue occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnesse. *Hugh Bardolph*, *William Marshall*, *Geffrey Fitz. Peter*, and *William Brewer* are ioyned in commission with the Bishop of *Ely*.

Vide Append. The Kings departure out of England toward the Holy warre.

And lest his brother *Iohn* (whose spirit hee well vnderstood) might in *England* worke vpon the aduantage of his absence, he first caused him to take an Oath *not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three yeares next following*. Which after, vpon better consideration, hee released, leauing him to his libertie and naturall respect. But hereby hauing giuen him first a wound by his distrust, his after-regard could neuer heale it vp againe, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

For, this suspition of his Faith shewed him rather the waie to breake, then retaine it; whensoeuer occasion were offered: and the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designes. For this Earle *Iohn* had conferred vpon him in *England* the Earledomes of *Cornewall*, *Dorcet*, *Sommerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, *Lancaster*; and by the marriage with *Isabell*, Daughter to the Earle of *Gloceſter*, had likewise that Earledome; moreouer the Castles of *Marlborow* and *Lutgarsall*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tichill*, and *Eye*; to the valew of foure thousand Markes *per annum*, besides the great commaunds hee held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satisfie but increase his desires, and make him more daungerous at home.

The great Estate left to Earle *Iohn*.

Then the more to strengthen the reputation of his Viceroy the Bishop of *Ely*, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legate of all *England* and *Scotland*; and to the end his Gouernment might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, he confines the elect Archbishoppe of *Yorke* (his base brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remaine in *Normandie* till his returne, and takes his Oath to performe the same.

Hauing thus ordered his affaires hee sends backe into *England* this Great Bishop, furnished with as great and absolute a power as hee could giue him, to prouide necessaries for his intended iourney. Wherein to please the King, hee offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque*, saith *Houeden*. Hee tooke of euery Cittie in *England* two Palfryes, and two other Horses of seruice, and of euerie Abbay one of each; likewise of euery Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this seruice. And to shewe what hee would prooue, hee tooke the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishoppe of *Duresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Howedon*, questions his Authoritie, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, ouertopt him.

Exactions by the Viceroy.

The King takes order for a Nauie to conuay people and prouision to the Holy land, and commits the charge thereof to the Archbishop of *Auxere*, and the Bishop of

Bayon, Robert de Sabul, Richard Canuile; which done, both Kings, at the latter end of *Iune*, with their powers together, take their iourney to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing ſo great, as bred many incomberments, and diſtemprings betweene the nations) they part companies: the King of *France* takes the way of *Genoua* by Land, the King of *England*, of *Merſeilles*; where, after hee had ſtayed eight dayes, expecting in vaine the coming about of his Nauie withheld by tempeſt, hee was forced to hire twentie Gallies, and ten other great veſſels, to tranſport him into the Iſle of *Sicilia*. The King of *France* takes ſhipping at *Genoua*, and by tempeſt was driuen to land in the ſame Iſle, and arriued there before the King of *England*: where, thoſe mighty companies of both theſe powerfull Kings, fell fowle on each other, and themſelues taking part with their people enter in quarrell and rancor, ſo that being of equall power and ſtomacke, and alike emulous of honour and reuenge, they began to ſhew what ſucceſſe, their enterpriſe was likely to yeeld. The King of *France* repayring his wracked Nauie, and the King of *Englands* long ſtaying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicilia*, to the great peſture and diſturbance of that people, themſelues and theirs.

The Kings quarrell in the Iſle of *Sicile*.

William late king of *Sicile* who had married *Ioane*, ſiſter to the King of *England*, was dead (which made the entertaynment of the *Engliſh* there, the worſe) and *Tancredi* baſe ſonne of *Roger*, grandfather to *William*, was inueſted in the kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without yſſue,) and the fidelitie of the people ſworne to *Conſtantia* the lawfull daughter of the ſayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, ſonne to the Emperour *Frederie Barbaroſſa*; by which occaſion *Tancredi* was forced to vſe all meanes to hold what hee had gotten by ſtrong hand, and had much to doe againſt the Emperour and his ſonne *Henry*. The King of *England* after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his ſiſters dowre the better, enters into league with *Tancredi* againſt all men to preſerue his Eſtate, and gets in concluſion 20000. Ounces of Gold for his Siſters dowre, and 20000 more, vpon a match to bee made betweene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, ſonne to *Geffery* his next brother (who was to ſucceed him in the Crowne of *England*, if himſelfe died without yſſue) and the daughter of *Tancredi*.

The Kings reconciled.

At the opening of the Spring (both kings hauing beene reconciled, and new Articles of Peace and concord ſigned, and ſworne) the king of *France* ſets firſt forward to the Holy Land: but the king of *England* ſtayes in *Sicile* vntill Whitſontide after. And during his abode (which might therefore bee the longer) his Mother Queene *Elionor* (who in her youth had well knowne the trauaile of the Eaſt) came vnto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, daughter to the king of *Nauarre*, who was there fianced vnto him. Which done, Queene *Elionor* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile* take their iourney with the King; who ſets forth with an hundred and thirty ſhips, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempeſt driuen to the Iſle of *Cyprus*; where, being denied landing, he aſſailes the Iſle on all ſides, ſubdues it, places his Garriſons therein, and commits the cuſtody of the ſame to *Richard de Canuile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof hee confirmed the vſe of their owne Lawes. And here our Hiſtories ſay, hee married the Lady *Berenguela*, and cauſed her to bee Crowned Queene.

Berenguela fianced to King *Richard*.

Theſe miſchiefes ſuffred theſe two famous Iſles of Chriſtendome in the paſſage of thoſe mighty Princes againſt Pagans, who peraduenture would haue as well vſed them for their goods, and treaſure as theſe did; *but Armies and power know no inferior friends*, it was their Fate ſo to lie in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cauſe of Piety, would not ſticke to doe any iniuſtice.

From hence paſſes this famous king to the Holy Land, with the ſpoyles and treaſure of three noble rich Iſlands, *England, Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (beſides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furniſh him withall) and there conſumes that huge collected maſſe, euen as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renowne of him, and the nation. Heere for the better vnderſtanding this buſineſſe, it is not amiſſe to deliuer in what ſort ſtood the Eſtate of thoſe affaires in Aſia, which ſo much troubled

theſe

theſe mighty Princes, and drew them from the vtmoſt bounds of Europe, thus to aduenture themſelues, and conſume their Eſtates.

It was now foure ſcore and eight yeares ſince *Godfrey* of *Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine*, with his company recouered the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, with the Countrey of *Paleſtina*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtained the Kingdome thereof, and was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Sauiour, reigned one yeare, died, and left to ſucceed him his brother *Baldwin*, who gouerned eighteene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Baldwin de Burgo*, who reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in diſſention. *Fulke* Earle of *Anion* marries this daughter, and enioyes the Kingdome eleuen yeares, and left two young ſonnes, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*: *Baldwin* reignes foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelue, and leaues *Baldwin* his ſon to ſucceed him; who being ſickly, and deſpayring of yſſue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, ſon to the Marqueſſe of *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his ſiſter, his ſucceſſor, and commits the charge of him, with the adminiſtration of the Kingdome, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Luſignan* who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of *Monferrato*) put from that charge, and vſurped the Gouernment, and at length the Kingdome, not without ſuſpition of poyſoning the young King. *Raymond* making warre vpon him, *Luſignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of Egypt to his ayde, who glad of that occaſion, to augment his owne State deſtroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and wonne the Citie of *Ptolemeide*, *Aſoto*, *Berytho*, *Aſcalon*, and after one months ſiege, the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, foure ſcore and eight yeares after it had beene conquered by *Godfrey*. The State of Paleſtina.

Now to recouer this confounded State, come theſe two Great Kings from a farre and a different clyme, with an Army compoſed of ſeuerall Nations, and ſeuerall humours, Engliſh, French, Italians and Germaines; againſt a mightie Prince of an vnited power, within his owne ayre, neere at home, bred and made by the ſword, inured to victories, acquainted with the ſights, and forces of the Chriſtians, and poſſeſſed almoſt of all the beſt peeces of that Countrey.

And heere they ſit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the power of *Saladin*, which had beene before beſieged by the Chriſtians the ſpace of three yeares; and had coſt the liues of many worthy Princes, and great perſonages, whoſe names are deliuered by our Writers, amongſt whom I will remember theſe few of eſpeciall note: *Conradus* Duke of *Suenia*, ſon of *Frederic* the Emperour (which *Frederic* was alſo drowned comming thither) with the Earles of *Perch*, *Pontif*, and olde *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys* that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*: *Stephen* Earle of *Sancerre*: the Earle of *Vandoſme*, *Bertoldus* a Duke of *Germany*, *Roger* and *Ioſelin* Earles of *Apulia* &c. And laſtly, *Philip* Earle of *Flaunders*: and of our Nation, *Baldwin* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*; *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Ralph de Glanuile*, Chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*; *Walter de Kime*, &c. And notwithſtanding all the forces of theſe two Kings, they held out foure monthes after, and then rendred themſelues vpon compoſition. The Kings of England and France beſiege Acon.

At their entring into the Citie, the Enſignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtrich*, beeing planted on the walles, were with great ſcorne taken downe by the commandement of King *Richard*, and thoſe of the two Kings erected; which bred great rancour, and was afterward the occaſion of much miſchiefe to the king of *England*. Beſides, during this ſiege, diuers ſtings were miniſtred, or taken of diſpleaſure, and malice betweene the two kings, apt to bee ſet on fire by the leaſt touches of conceipt.

The King of *France* full of diſdaine, for the reiection of his Siſter, and the marriage of the King of *England* with *Berenguela*; beſides competition of honour (which their equality was ſubiect vnto) made any iot of the leaſt diſproportion thereof, a wounde without cure: And daylie occaſions in ſo great hearts fell out to worke the ſame. The Article *of equall deuiding their gaines in this voyage*, concluded between them is queſtioned. The king of *France*, *claimes halfe the Iſle of Cyprus*, the King of *England*, *halfe*

halfe the Treasure and goods of the Earle of Flaunders, whereon the King of *France* had seised; and therein, neither is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, *Marquis* of *Monferrato*: *Guy* pleads the possession thereof, which he had by his wife *Sibilla*: the King of *England* takes part with *Guy*: the King of *France*, with *Conrade*: And with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempered, in so much, as by their owne heats and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sickenesse, that cost them both, their haire, being more then they got by the voyage.

The Kings of England and France dangerously sicke.

But being recouered, the King of France had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likelihood of honour or profit: and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger, and the rather by the death of the Earle of Flaunders, whose state lay so neere, as it tooke vp part of his; whereof he had a purpose to abridge his successor; and therefore, craues leaue of the king of *England* (*for without leaue of each other it was couenanted, neither of them should depart*) to returne home: which King *Richard* was hardly wonne to grant, in respect he knew the daunger, it might worke him, in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose.

The King of France departs from the Holy warre.

But in the end through the earnest sollicitation of the King of *France*, and his assurance (confirmed by Oath) not doe any thing offensiue to his Dominion in *France*, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leauing the Earle of *Burgogne* Lieutenant of his forces: And King *Richard* betakes him to the siege of *Ascalon*: writes inuectiue letters against the King of *France* for leauing him: who likewise defames King *Richard* amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the periurie of these two kings did not adde more to their sin, then the action they vndertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *A good worke impiously managed, merits no more then an ill.*

Ten moneths the king of *England* stayes behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valor and exceeding courage; finding euer great peuersnesse in the Earle of *Burgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to aduance the action, where another must carry the honour: but willing alwaies to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to be done; and at length falls sicke, and dies at *Acon*.

Conrade murthered.

Conrade, who was so much fauoured by the King of *France*, in his title for that kingdome, was murthered by two *Assassini*, whereof the King of *England* was (but very wrongfullie) taxed; and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, Sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King *Richard* preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and *Guy* of *Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, and so both contented. During this businesse abroade in the East, the state of *England* suffred much at home vnder the gouernment of *Longshamp*, who vsurping the whole authority to himselfe without communicating any thing either with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners ioyned with him, did what hee listed, and with that insolencie carried himselfe, as he incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergie and Lay. His traine was said to be so great, & the pompe of attendants such, as where he lay in any religious house but one night, 3. yeares reuenues would scarce suffice to recouer the charge. Besides, being a stranger himselfe, and vsing only French men about him, made his courses the more intollerable to the English: in so much, as at length the whole Clergie, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *Iohn* taking aduantage vpon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended vsurpation) ioynes with the state against this B. being the man that had euer crossed his courses, hauing an especiall eye vnto him, as the most dangerous person of the Kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safetie.

Longshamps traine and pompe.

1191. *Anno Reg. 3.* And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by this meanes. *Geffrey* the Elect Archbishop of Yorke, base sonne to *Henry* the 2. to whose preferment in *Engl.* King *Richard* was auerse (& therefore had confin'd him within *Normandy*, during his absence) had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a power to bee inuested in the

that Sea: whose comming into *England* being aduertised to the Chancellor *Longshamp*, he was at his landing at *Douer* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which hee had recouered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall habit trailed into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *Iohn*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answere the matter, before the assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at *Pauls*: where, they Article, and vrge against him many hainous actions committed, contrarie to the Commission giuen him, and the Weale of the King, and Kingdome.

Geffrey the Elect of Yorke taken and imprisoned by the Chancellor.

The Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshall Earle of *Striguile*, shewed openly the Kings Letters pattents, dated at *Messena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the gouernment of the Kingdome; which notwithstanding, hee would neuer suffer them to deale in any businesse of the same: but by his owne violent, and headlong will, doe all himselfe: wherefore in the end hee was by the Assembly deposed from his Office: and the Archbishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of *London*, and the Castle of *Windsor* are taken from him, and deliuered to the Archbishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (hauing enuy so neere him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take vp that for the Holy warre: and priuily seeking to escape ouer Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a webbe of Linnin cloth vnder his arme, taken vpon the shore at *Douer*, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight daies hee was by the Earle *Iohn* released, and suffered to goe on his iourney; wherein, being the messenger of his owne misusage, he had the aduantage of his aduersaries, and preuailed against them with the Pope, who tooke it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

Longshamp the Chancellor deposed from his office.

He flies and is taken.

The Earle *Iohn*, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant vnto the Citty of *London their Common (or liberties,)* and the Cittizens *sware fealtie to King* Richard *and his heires: and that if he died without issue, they would receiue the Earle* Iohn *for their Lord and King, and likewise sware fealty vnto him against all men, reserving their faith to King* Richard.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle *Iohn* for his brothers Crowne, whilst hee is beleagaring *Ascalon*, and grapling with *Saladin Sultan* in the East. But hauing notice of this proceeding in *England*, and how the King of *France* had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin*, contrarie to his Oath; hee takes the oportunity of an offer made by *Saladine* of a truce for three yeares, vpon condition *that hee should restore* Ascalon *to the same State wherein he found it before the siege*: which hee did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Armie. And presently leauing Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could prouide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returnes from this action, with as great precipitation as hee vndertooke it: hauing consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise hee could teare from his subiects, and others, by violent extortion, or cunning practises.

King *Richards* departure from *Palestina*.

Pardon vs Antiquity, if we miscensure your actions, which are euer (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and haue onely their vpholding by the opinion of the present: wee deale with you but as posterity will with vs (which euer thinkes it selfe the wiser) that will iudge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations. But for a King of *England* to returne in this fashion, cannot bee but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pittifull an euent. For hauing taken vp by the way three Gallies to conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of Siluer, (disguised vnder the names of Pilgrimes,) hee was by his lauish expences discouered to bee the King of *England*; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay anie couering thereon, that could euer hide him more: though vpon warning thereof, he presently left all his companie, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the daungers of a wilde desert, and rocky Country, trauayling day and night, passes into

His discouery.

into *Auſtrich*, where Fame, that was a ſpeedier poſt then himſelfe, was before him. And coming to a Village nere to Vienna, and repoſing himſelfe in a poore hoſterie, was taken aſleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to prouide neceſſaries for him, who as hee was changing money was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Auſtrich*, and vpon examination confeſſed where his maiſter was; of which prize the Duke was moſt ioyfull, in reſpect of his reuenge for the diſgrace hee did him at the entring of *Acon*, and preſently ſends him to the Emperour *Henry* the 6, whom likewiſe he had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the baſe ſon of *Roger* in the vſurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, againſt *Conſtantia* the lawfull daughter of the ſame *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

King *Richard* taken priſoner

Newes hereof is preſently ſent by the Emperour to the King of *France* that he might likewiſe reioyce at this fortune, and hee tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the diſturber of the Kingdome of* France, *was faſt in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewiſe ſoone certified of this heauy diſaſter, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of captiuitie, who is ſayd to haue borne his fortune with that magnanimity, and cleered himſelfe of the ſcandalls layd on him for the death of *Conrade* the Emperors kinſman, and other his actions in the Eaſt, in ſuch ſort, as hee won the affection of the Emperor, ſo that he profeſſed a great deſire to reſtore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet we find, *That King* Richard *depoſed himſelfe of the Kingdome of* England, *and deliuered the ſame to the Emperor as his ſupreame Lord, and inueſted him therein by the deliuering vp his hat*, which the Emperor returned vnto him in the preſence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England*, to hold this Kingdome from him for 50 thouſand pounds ſterling to be payd as an annuall tribute.

King *Richard* depoſed himſelfe of the Kingdome of England.

And yet notwithſtanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *Iohn*, preuailed ſo much with the Emperour as hee held him priſoner a whole yeare, and ſixe weekes, through the offer of mighty ſummes they made vnto him. For he, and the Earle *Iohn* fully accounted that he ſhould haue beene held a perpetuall priſoner, and vpon that reckning the Earle *Iohn* did homage to the King of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all the reſt of thoſe tranſmarine territories, and for *England* as it is ſayd: and beſides reſignes vnto him *Giſors*, with the Country of *Vexin*, ſweares to marry his ſiſter *Alice*, and to bee diuorced from his other Wife the Daughter of the Earle of *Gloceſter*. The King of *France* couenants to giue him with his ſiſter that part of *Flanders* which he had taken from that Earledome, and ſweares to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatſoeuer elſe the Lands of his brother.

Earle *Iohn* doth homage to the King of France for Normandy.

Then goes the Earle *Iohn* ouer into *England* carrying many ſtrangers with him, and preſently the Caſtles of *Wallingford* and *Windſor* are rendred vnto him: then comes hee to *London* and requires of the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and other the Commiſſioners, the Kingdome of *England*, and that fealty bee made vnto him, affirming his brother was dead: but they not giuing credit vnto him, and denying his deſire; with rage and ſtrong hand, hee fortifies his Caſtles, and in hoſtile manner inuades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to ioyne with him.

The Queene mother, the Iuſtices of *England*, and all the faithfull ſeruants of the King, guard and defend the ports, againſt the inuaſion of the *French*, and *Flemings*, who in great numbers ſeeke to ayde the Earle *Iohn*; and alſo they labour the redemption of the King, whoſe ranſome the Emperour rates at 100 thouſand Markes, with the finding of fiftie Gallies ready furniſhed, and two hundred ſouldiers to attend his ſeruice in the holy warres for one yeare.

In *Normandy* the Officers and Seruants of the King of *England* defend with no leſſe faith, and courage the right of their Maiſter againſt the King of *France*, who with all his power labours to ſubdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption, and inhaunces his ranſome. This toyle and charge is the world put into through the misfortune and weakeneſſe of their hardy King, who, onely in reſpect of his valour (being otherwiſe not worth ſo much) and the Holy worke hee vndertooke, (whereby hee obliged the Clergie, which then managed all,) got the opinion and loue of his ſubiects, in ſuch ſort, as they ſtraine

euen

euen beyond their ability to recouer and preſerue him, and ſo wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King *Richard* in this manner: *That hee ſhould ſend his Commiſſioners to London, and receiue an hundred thouſand Markes of pure ſiluer of* Cologne *waight, to be ſealed vp and ſafely conducted to the bounds of the Empire at the perill of the King of* England; *and other fifty thouſand Markes of ſiluer (whereof twenty thouſand for the Duke of* Auſtrich, *and thirty thouſand for the Emperor, to be payd at ſeuen moneths after, and pledges to be giuen: threeſcore to the Emperour, and ſeuen to the Duke.* Beſides, the King of *England ſweares to ſend his Neece, the ſiſter of* Arthur *Earle of Brittaine, to bee married to the Duke of* Auſtrich, &c.

The Emperors compoſition with King *Richard.*

And the Emperour granted to the King of *England* by his Charter *the ſoueraignty of* Prouence, *Vienne*, and *Viennoys*, *Marſellis*, *Narbona*, *Arls*, *Lyons*, *and whatſoeuer hee had in* Burgogne, *with the Homages of the King of* Arragon, *the Earles of* Dijon, *and Saint Giles.* In which countries were fiue Archbiſhopricks, thirty three Biſhopricks; but the Emperour could neuer haue domination ouer them, nor they receiue any Lord that hee preſented them. So that this great gift conſiſted but in title, which yet pleaſed King *Richard*, that hee might not ſeeme to part with all his ſubſtance for nothing. And the ſame wind he ſends to *Hubert* the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, late made his Vicegerent in *England*, to be blowne ouer all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote vnto him: wherein he hath theſe words. *For that ſure I am, you much deſire our deliuerance and greatly reioyce therin, we will that you be partaker of our ioy, and thought fit to ſignifie to your belouednes, that the Lord the Emperour hath prefixed the day thereof to be vpon* Munday *after the feaſt of the* Natiuity, *and the Sunday after we ſhall receiue the Crowne of the Kingdome of* Prouence, *which he hath giuen vs, whereof wee ſend his letters Patents vnto you, and other our friends, and well willers: & do you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort thoſe you know loue vs; and deſire our promotion.* Teſte meipſo apud Spiram 22. Sept. *The Emperour likewiſe writes to the Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and other the ſubiects of* England, *how he purpoſed to aduance and magnificently to honor his eſpeciall friend their King, and in this Coyne are they payd at home for what they were to lay out.*

King *Richards* letters into *England.*

1192. *Anno Reg.* 4.

King *Richard* ſends after this, for his Mother Queene *Elionor* (who is ſtill a trauailer) and for the Archbiſhop of *Rouen* with many others to come vnto him, about the time and buſineſſe of his deliuerance, for which, There is *impoſed vpon euery Knights fee twenty ſhillings, the fourth part of all lay mens reuennes, and the fourth part of all the reuennes of the Clergie, with a tenth of their goods* is enioyned to be payd. *The Chalices and treaſure of all Churches are taken to make vp the ſumme*, the like is done in all his territories beyond the Seas, ſo dearely coſt the returne of this King from his *Eaſterne voyage.*

And his Queene *Berenguela* had likewiſe her part of affliction in this iourney, for ſhee with her ſiſter in law the Queene *Dowager* of *Sicilia*, fearing the Emperours malice, were a whole yeere in trauailing from *Paleſtina*, and at length were conducted vnto *Poicton.* The King of *France* hearing of this concluſion made betwixt King *Richard* and the Emperour, writes *to the Earle* Iohn *how the dwell was got looſe, willing him now to looke to himſelfe; and it vexed them exceedingly both, being diſappoynted thus of their hopes.* And thereupon, the Earle *Iohn* leauing his Caſtles in *England* well defended, and incouraging his Souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into *Normandy*, where hee with the King of *France*, whileſt King *Richard* is yet in the Emperours hands, ſolicites him, *with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thouſand markes, or elſe a thouſand pound a moneth, ſo long as he held him his priſoner.* But it preuailed not, though it ſtaggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end ſhewed this letter to King *Richard* (that hee might ſee what care was taken for him) and then deliuers him to his mother *Elionor*, receiuing the pledges for obſeruation of peace, (and the reſt of the ranſome vnpayd) *the Archbiſhop of* Rouen, *the Biſhop of* Bath, *with the ſonnes of many principall Earles and Barons.* And ſo in February, one yeare and ſixe weekes after his Captiuity, in the fourth yeere of his reigne hee returnes into *England*, where the Biſhops (in whoſe grace eſpecially he was) had excommunicated the Earle *Iohn*, and all his adherents, and taken in his Caſtles of *Marleborow*, *Lancaſter*, and a fortreſſe at Saint *Michels* mount in *Cornewall*, defended by *Henry de Pomeroy.* But his Caſtle of *Nottingha*, though ſtrongly aſſailed by *Ralph* Earle of *Cheſter* and

The King of *France* and Earle *Iohn* proffer great ſumms to hold King *Richard* priſoner.

King *Richards* returne into *England.*

1193. Anno Reg. 5.

and the Earle *Ferrers*, and the Caſtle of *Tichill* by the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, held out for the Earle *Iohn*, and found the King ſome worke to doe vpon his returne; who preſently without any ſtay otherwhere, came before *Nottingham* Caſtle with all the ſhew of ſtate and greatneſſe he could make; which yet could not ſo terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeelde, confident either in their owne ſtrength, or in opinion that there was no King euer to returne to aſſault them, and ſuppoſing it but a meere ſhew, reſolued to hold out for their maiſter; which put the King to much trauaile, and great expence of blood before they rendred themſelues, which was alſo vpon pardon. Thoſe of the Caſtle of *Tichil* yeelded to the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, *their perſons, and goods ſaued.*

A Parliament at *Nottingham.*

The King aſſembles a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queene *Elionor* was preſent, and ſate on his right hand. The firſt day of the Seſſion, *he diſſeiſeth* Girard de Canuile *of the Caſtle of* Lincolne, *and the Shriefwick of that Shire: from* Hugh Bardolph *he takes the Shriefwicke of Yorkeſhire, the Caſtles of Yorke, Scarborow, and the cuſtody of Weſtmerland, and expoſes them al to ſale. The Archbiſhop of* Yorke *giues for the Shriefwicke of Yorkeſhire three thouſand Markes, with one hundred Markes of annuall rent.*

The ſecond day of the Seſſion the King requires iudgement vpon the Earle *Iohn*, *for hauing contrary to his Oath of fealty, vſurped his Caſtles, &c. and contracted confederacy with the King of* France *againſt him. And likewiſe iudgement againſt* Hugh de Nauant *Biſhop of* Couentry, *for adhering to the Earle* Iohn, *and the Kings enemies.* And it was adiudged, *they ſhold both appeare at a peremptory day to ſtand to the Law. Which if they did not, the Earle* Iohn *to deſerue baniſhment, and the Biſhop to vndergoe the iudgement, both of the Clergie, as being a Biſhop, and of the Layety, being the Kings Shriefe:* But this Biſhop two yeares after, was reſtored to the Kings fauour, and his Biſhopricke, for fiue thouſand Markes. The third day of this Seſſion was granted to the King, *of euery plough-land throughout* England, *two ſhillings: beſides, the King required the third part of the ſeruice, of euery Knights fee, for his attendance in* Normandy: *and all the Wooll that yeare of the Monkes Ciſteaux. Which for that it was grieuous and inſupportable vnto them, they fine for money.*

Richard againe crowned at *Wincheſter.*

The fourth and laſt day, was for *the hearing of grieuances and accuſations*, and ſo this aſſembly brake vp. But here either to adde more Maieſtie after calamity, or elſe to nullifie his act done to the Emperour, is appoynted the Kings recoronation to be ſolemnized at *Wincheſter*, preſently vpon the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next following. Whileſt the King was in theſe parts, *William* King of *Scots*, repaires to him, and required *the dignities and honour his predeceſſors of right had in* England, *and withall, the Counties of* Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, *and* Lancaſter. To whom the King of *England* firſt anſwered, *that he would ſatisfie him by the aduice of his Councel*, which ſhortly after was aſſembled at *Northampton*; where after deliberation, he told him, *That his petition ought not in reaſon, to be granted at that time, when almoſt all the Princes of* France *were his enemies; for it would be thought rather an act of feare, then any true affection*, & ſo put it off for that time with faire promiſes: yet grants he by the aduice and conſent of the Councell, vnder his Charter, to *William* King of *Scots* and his heires for euer: *That when by ſommons they ſhold come to the Court of the King of* England, *the Biſhop of* Dureſme, *& the Shriefe of Northumberland ſhould receiue them at the riuer of* Tweed, *& bring them vnder ſafe conduct to the riuer of* Teis, *and there the Archbiſhop of* Yorke, *and the Shriefe of Yorkeſhire ſhould receiue & conduct them to the bounds of that County: & ſo the Biſhops and Shriefes of other Shires till they came to the Court of the King of* England; *and from the time that the King of* Scots *firſt entred into this Realme, he ſhould haue an hundred ſhillings a day allowed of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty ſhillings a day, and twelue Waſtells, and twelue Simnels of the Kings, foure quartes of the Kings beſt wine & ſix of ordinary wine, two pounds of pepper, & foure pounds of Cinamon; two pounds of Waxe, or foure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings beſt candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary; and at his returne to bee ſafely conducted as he came, and with the ſame allowance.*

Reſumptions.

From *Northampton*, both th Kings go to Woodſtock, and thence to *Wincheſter*, where the Coronation is ſumptuouſly ſolemnized. And there King *Richard* reſumes the two Mannors he ſold to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at his going to the holy Warre, and likewiſe the Caſtle of *Winchester* and that County, with whatſoeuer ſales hee had made elſe

of

of the *Demaynes* of the Crowne, alledging *that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertayning to the ſame wherby his State was to ſubſiſt*. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* ſeeing theſe reuocations, did voluntarily, deliuer vp the Caſtle of *Dureſme*, with the Country of *Northumberland*, which the King willed to be deliuered to *Hugh Bardolph*. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* gaue for the liberty of his Church one thouſand Markes of ſilues, redeeming thereby the cuſtome of giuing to the King of *England* euery yeare a cloke furred with *Sabells*.

Here all ſuch who had taken part with the Earle *Iohn* and defended his Caſtles, were ſommoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ranſome, the pooter ſort let go at liberty, but vnder ſureties of an hundred Markes a peece, to anſwere in the Kings Court whenſoeuer they ſhould be called. The King of *Scots*, ſeeing the King of *England* vſe all meanes for money, offers fifteene thouſand Markes for *Northumberland*, with the appurtenances, alledging *how King* Henry *the ſecond gaue the ſame to* Henry *his Father, and that after him, King* Malcolm *enioyed it fiue yeares*. This large offer of money tempted King *Richard* ſo, as againe hee conſulted with his Councell about the matter, and in concluſion was willing to yeeld the ſame to the king of *Scots*, reſeruing to himſelfe the Caſtles: but that, the king of *Scots* would not accept, and ſo with much diſcontent departs into *Scotland*; yet two yeares after this, King *Richard* ſends *Hubert Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to *Yorke*, there to treate with the king of *Scots* of a marriage betweene *Otho* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the ſaid king, to haue for her dowre *all Lynox, and he would giue with his Nephew*, Northumberland *and the Earldome of* Carlile, *with all the Caſtles*; but the Queene of *Scots* in the time of this treaty, being knowne to be with Childe, it tooke no effect.

From *Winchester*, king *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ſhips, ſo that his ſtay in *England* was but from the latter end of February to the tenth of May, and that time onely ſpent in gleaning out what poſſible this kingdome could yeeld, to conſume the ſame in his buſineſſe of *France*, which tooke vp all the reſt of his reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof hee was neuer aboue eight moneths in *England*. Nor doe wee finde that euer his wife *Berenguela* was here, or had any dowry or honour of a Queene of *England*, or otherwiſe of any regard with him, how much ſoeuer ſhe had deſerued.

King *Richard* departs into *Normandie* with 100 ſhips.

And now all affaires that either concerned the State in generall, or any mannes particular, was (to the great charge and trauayle of the ſubiects of *England*, to be diſpatched in *Normandie*: and that gaine we had by our large dominions abrode. The firſt action that king *Richard* vndertooke vpon his comming ouer, was, the relieuing of *Vernoul*, beſeiged by the king of *France*; and there his brother *Iohn*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Elionor* is reconciled vnto him, and abiures the part of the king of *France*. And to make his party the ſtronger in thoſe countries, hee firſt giues his ſiſter *Ioane*, Queene *Dowager* of *Sicile*, to *Raymond* Earle of *Toloufe*, being the neereſt neighbour of power to his *Duchy* of *Guien*, and might moſt offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* from whom the king of *France* had taken *Artois*, and *Vermandois*, and on all ſides ſeekes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at leaſt, held this miſerable turmoyle betwixt theſe two kings, ſurpriſing, recouering, ruyning and ſpoyling each others Eſtate, often deceiuing both the world, and themſelues with ſhew of couenants reconciliatorie, which were euermore broken againe vpon all aduantages according to the myſtery of war and ambition.

King *Philip* of *France* to ſtrengthen himſelfe with ſhipping to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, marries *Botilda* the ſiſter of *Knut* king of *Denmark*; but this match, made for his ends, & not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding hee put her away, pretending (beſides other things) propinquity of bloud, and for this had hee long and great contention with the Church and the king of *Denmarke*. The Emperor ſends to the king of *England* a maſſie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him againſt the king of *France*, and to inuade his kingdome; but the king returnes him onely thankes, not willing to haue him ſtirre in this buſines, in regard hee ſuſpected the Emperour affected to adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be ſafe for him: or that

1194. *Anno Reg. 6.* *Vide* Append.

that the King of *France* dealing with the Emperour might win him with mony, and ſo in the end, ioyne both together againſt him. Now to ſupply the charge of this great worke, *England* was ſure ſtill to beare the heauieſt part: and no ſhift is left vnſought, that might any way rayſe meanes to the King from hence. Witneſſe *the Commiſſion giuen to the Iuſtices Itinerants ſent into euery Shire of England for exaction vpon pleas of the Crown, for Eſcheates, wardſhips, marriages, &c. with the improuement of the Demaynes, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the Eſtates of men, and eſpecially of the Iewes, on whom the king would haue none to prey but himſelfe: Then the rayſing an impoſition vpon allowance of Turnements, which was for euery Earle twenty Markes of ſiluer: euery Baron, ten, euery Knight hauing lands, foure: and for ſuch as had none, two Markes for a licence.* The Collection whereof the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* commits to his brother *Theobald Walter*. *Beſides another new ſeale, the old being loſt by the Vice-Chancelor at the taking of Cyprus*, brings in a new exaction.

Meanes vſed for money.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, *Anno Reg. 9* by *Hugh Bardolph*, *Roger Arundle* and *Geffrey Hatchet*, Iuſtices Itinerants for *Lyncolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Yorkeſhire*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Lancaſter*, was of a higher ſtraine of exaction, and more profound, as hauing more of time, and preſumption vpon the peoples ſufferance; of whom, when once triall was made that they would beare, were ſure to haue more layd on them then they were able to vndergoe. And with theſe vexations (ſaith *Houeden*) all *England* from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreame pouerty, and yet it ended not heere: another torment is added to the confuſion of the Subiects by the Iuſtices of the Foreſts, *Hugh Neuile*, chiefe Iuſtice, *Hugh Wac*, and *Erniſe de Neuile*, who not onely execute thoſe hidious lawes introduced by the *Norman*, but impoſe other of more tyrannicall ſeuerity, as the memory thereof being odious, deſerues to be vtterly forgotten, hauing afterwards by the hard labour of our noble anceſtors, and the goodnes of more regular Princes, beene aſſwaged and now out of vſe.

Beſides in the ſame yeare, this King *impoſes 5. ſhil. vpon euery Hide or Plough-land, (which contayned an hundred Acres:)* for the leuying whereof a moſt ſtrict courſe was taken: Likewiſe he required by his Vicegerent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that *the people of England ſhould finde three hundred Knights for one yeare to remaine in his ſeruice, or ſo much money, allowing for euery Knight, three ſhillings* per diem. Againſt which, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lyncoln* oppoſes, and ſayes, that *he would neuer yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example to poſteritie, that ſhould not complaine thereof, and ſay: Our Fathers haue eaten ſowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge*; and turning to the Archbiſhop, *wiſhed him, that he would doe nothing whereof he might be aſhamed.*

Vndecies centena millia Marc. Houed.

This Archbiſhop ſo husbanded the Kings buſineſſe, that in *Anno Reg. 7.* hee yeelded an accompt vnto him, that hee had leuied of the Kingdome within the ſpace of two yeares, eleuen hundred thouſand Markes of ſiluer; which, conſidering that time, is a moſt remarkeable ſumme. And now, as the firſt act of this King was his violent proceeding in a buſineſſe of Treaſure with *Stephen Thurſtan Seneſhall* of *Normandy*, ſo was it likewiſe the laſt, and the cauſe of his deſtruction: for *Widomare*, *Viſcount* of *Limoges*, hauing found a great treaſure of ſiluer and gold in the ground, ſends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuſes, laying clayme to the whole; *Widomare* denying the ſame, the King layes ſiege to his Caſtle where he imagined the treaſure was hid; they of the Caſtle being but weake, offered to render the ſame, their liues, members, and Armor ſaued; which the King would not yeeld vnto, but ſwore that hee would ſack the Caſtle, and hang them all. Whereupon deſperatly they reſolued to ſtand to their defence. King *Richard* with *Marchard*, Generall of the *Brabanſons* going about the Caſtle to view what place was fitteſt for an aſſault; *Bertram de Gurdun*, from the walls ſhot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with ſuch a deadly blow, as he was preſently ſent to his lodging: notwithſtanding commands hee his forces to proſecute the aſſault without intermiſſion; which they did, and tooke the Caſtle, putting to execution all the defendants except *Bertram*, who by the Kings command was reſerued.

But

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behinde, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to despaire of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leauing to his brother *Iohn* three parts of his treasure, and the forth to his seruants.

Which done, he willed *Bertram Gurdun* to be brought vnto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that prouoked him to doe this mischiefe: to whom *Bertram* replies: *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest haue slaine mee, take what reuenge thou wilt. I willingly endure whatsoeuer torture thou canst inflict vpon me: in respect I haue slaine thee, who hast done such and so great mischiefe to the world.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answere, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgaue him his death, but commanded 100. shillings sterling to be giuen vnto him, but *Marchard* after the King was dead, caused him to bee hanged and flayed. The death of King *Richard.*

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine monthes, wherein hee exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, then all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserued then any, hauing neither liued here, neither left behind him monument of Pietie, or of any other publique worke, or euer shewed loue or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what hee could from it. Neuer had Prince more giuen with lesse adoe and lesse noise then hee. The reason whereof, as I haue said, was his vndertaking the Holy warres, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein; and that made the Clergie, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing: and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victorie in *France*) were brought to beare more then euer otherwise they would haue done. 1199. *Anno Reg.* 10.

Then had he such Ministers here to serue his turne as preferred his, before the seruice of God, and did more for him in his absence, then euer peraduenture hee would, or could haue done for himselfe by being here present. For, both, to hold their places, & his good opinion, they deuise more shifts of rapine, then had euer bin practised before in this kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subiect; which rent, and torne by continuall exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of *Religion* and *Law*, the maine supporters of humane societie, ordayned to preserue the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent ouercharging the State in these times, gaue occasion to the future, to prouide for themselues; Excesses euer procure alterations. And the Successors of this king were but little beholding vnto him; for out of his & his brothers irregularitie, their boundlesnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this king would haue proued, had his daies allowed him other then this rough part of warre, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made vnto him, we are shewed that he was conuertible. For being by him vehemently vrged to be mindefull of the subuersion of *Sodome*, and to abstaine from things vnlawfull, thereby, to auoyd the vengeance of God, he vpon an insuing sicknes (a sounder Counsailor then health) remembring this aduertisement, vowes a reformation of his life: and did afterward vpon his recouery, euery morning rise early to heare diuine seruice. For which *Houeden* hath this note: *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his actions in him, who is beginning without beginning, and iudges the ends of the Earth.* Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessell, that had beene taken and sold for ransome.

Though this King had no issue, yet was hee told by a Priest in France *that he had three euill daughters, and admonished to put them away and bestow them abroad to auoyde the punishment of God. The King gaue him the lie and sayd,* he knew none he had, Yes Sir, *replied the Priest*, three daughters you haue, and they are these, Pride, Couetousnesse, and Leccherie. *The King calling those who were present about him, & relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he would bestow these his* 3. *daughters which the Priest charged him withall.* The 1. which is Pride, I giue to the Templars and Hospitallers, Couetousnesse, to the Monkes of Cisteaux Order, and Letcherie to the Clergie: *this sodaine retortion shewes vs his quicknesse, and what kinde of men were then maligned, and out of his grace.* His yssue.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Richard the first.

The Life, and reigne, of King Iohn.

1199. Anno Reg 1.

IOHN hauing his brothers Army in the field, with all his Seruants and followers, entertaines them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the aduantages *of time, power*, and *opinion*, to helpe him on to his desires. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being vpon busines in those parts, and the most potent minister he could wish, for so mighty a worke, he presently dispatches for *England*, with *William Marshall* Earle of *Striguil*, *Geffery Fitz. Peter*, &c. to prepare the people to receiue him for their King: who, especially dealing with those were most doubted would oppose him, and vndertaking for him that he should restore vnto them their rights, and gouerne the kingdome, as he ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content vpon those conditions, to sweare Fealty vnto him against all men. These vndertakers, likewise, send word to *William* King of *Scots* (to hold him in, from any attempt) that he should also haue full satisfaction for what he claymed in *England*, vpon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in *Arthur* the elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of *Anion*, *Maine* and *Turaine*, maintayning the vsuall custome of inheritance, adhere to *Arthur*, whom his mother *Constance* puts vnder the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiues him and vndertakes the defence of his right.

King *Iohns* Coronation.

Iohn hauing his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of *England*, could haue no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but hauing receiued the inuestiture of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother *Elienor* (who must haue her part in euery act of her Sonnes) passes ouer into England, and by way of election receiues the crowne vpon the Ascention day, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in *Mat. Pa.*) before the whole assembly of the State shewed, *that by all reason, diuine & humane, none ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthynesse of his vertues, vniuersally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c.* which then, seemes especially vrged in respect his title of succession would not carry it. And the Archbishop afterward, vpon this poynt, being questioned, confessed to his friends, *that he foresaw this man would, (what blood and mischiefe soeuer it should cost) in the end obtayne the Crowne. And therefore the safer way was, to preuent confusion, that the land should rather make him King, then he make himselfe; and that this election would be some tye vpon him.*

So came *Iohn* to the Crowne of *England* which he gouerned with as great iniustice as he gat it, and imbarked the state, and himselfe, in those miserable incombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperat effects, and made way to those great alterations in the gouernment which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an especiall agent in this preferment of her Sonne *Iohn*, in respect of her owne greatnesse, knowing how shee should be more by him, then shee could bee by her grand-child *Arthur*, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so ouer-shaddow her estate, which was a thing not to be endured. Besides, *Arthur* was a child, borne and bred a stranger, and neuer shewed vnto the Kingdome, so that he had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not bee such (in regard of the danger of the aduenture, things standing as they did) that could doe him any great good. Men being content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with safetie, then seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confusion.

England secured to King *Iohn*.

The state of *England* secured; King *Iohn* returnes into *Normandy* vpon intelligence giuen of the defection wrought in those parts by *Philip* the *French* King, who had giuen the order of Knighthood to *Arthur*, and taken his homage for *Anion*, *Poicton*, *Main*, *Turein*, and also for Normandy (in regard as he pretended) that King *Iohn* had neglected to come, & doe him homage for the same, as members held of the crowne of *France*. King

Iohn

Iohn, not willing vpon his new and doubtfull admission to the gouernment to ingulph himselfe into a suddaine warre, mediates a parle with the King of *France*, who well vnderstanding the time, and his owne aduantages, requires so vnreasonable conditions, as King *Iohn* could not, without great dishonour yeeld vnto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of *France* vnder pretence of working for *Arthur* gets for himselfe; which being discouered, *Arthur* with his mother *Constance*, are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister *William de la Roche*) to commit themselues to the protection of King *Iohn*; of whom likewise conceiuing a sodaine iealousie, (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their comming, got secretly away & fled to *Angiers*. So this yong Prince, borne to be crusht betweene these two potent Kings (intending onely their owne ends) gaue occasion by leauing them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King *Iohn* buyes his peace vpon these yeelding conditions: *That* Louys, *eldest sonne to King* Philip, *should marry his Neece* Blanch, *daughter of* Alphonso *King of Castile, and haue with her in Dowre, the City and County of* Eureux, *with sundry Castles in* Normandy, *and* 30. *thousand Marks in Siluer. Besides, promises, if he died without issue, to leaue vnto him all his territories in* France. *And that he would not ayd his Nephew* Otho (*lately elected Emperor*) *against* Philip *brother to the late Emperor* Hen. 6. whom the K. of *France* fauoured, in opposition of Pope *Innocentius* who took the part of *Otho*.

1200. *Anno Reg.* 2.

Prince *Arthur* and his mother flie to *Angiers*.

After this peace made, *Otho* taking it vnkindly to bee thus forsaken of his Vnckle *Iohn*, sends his two brothers, *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William Winton* (so titled, for hauing bin borne at *Winchester*) to require the City of *Eureux* and the County of *Poicton*, and two parts of the treasure which his Vncle King *Richard* had bequeathed vnto him, besides other moueables; but they come too late, the obligation of bloud, and rendring of dues is held to be of an inferior nature to the present interests of State. To this vnkind and vnnaturall act hee presently addes another: Repudiates his wife (daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*, alleadging *consanguinity in the third degree*) and marries *Isabell* daughter and inheretrix to the Earle of *Angolesme* fianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March* (a Peere of great estate and alliance in *France*) by consent of King *Richard*, in whose custody she then was. And hauing finished these distastefull businesses, hee returnes to giue as little contentment into *Engl.* where he imposes 3. shillings vpon euery Plough-land, to discharge the great dowry of 30. thousand Marks he was to giue with his Neece *Blanch*, the collection whereof *Geffery* Archb. of *Yorke* opposes within his Prouince. For which, and for refusing, vpon summons to come vnto this late treaty in *France*, the King causes his Shriefe, *Iames Pecora*, to seaze vpon all his temporalities. The Archb. interdicts the whole prouince of *Yorke*, and excommunicates the Shriefe. K. *Iohn* shortly after, makes a progresse with his wife Queene *Isabel*, ouer all the north parts vnto *Scotland*, and *exacts great fines of offenders in his forrests*. In his passing through *Yorkeshire*, his brother the Archb. refused him wine, and the honour of the Bells at *Beuerley*, but by the mediation of 4 B B. and 4 Barons, and a great sum of money, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promise of reformation of excesses on either part.

King *Iohn* puts away his wife.

1201. *Anno Reg.* 3.

An imposition of 3 shillings vpon euery Plough land.

Vpon Easter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Isabel* his Queene, by the Archb. *Hubert*. And there are the Earls and Barons of *Engl.* summoned to be ready with horse and armor to passe the seas with him presently vpon Whitsontide; but they holding a conference together at *Leicester*, by a generall consent send him word, *That vnlesse he would reuoke them their rights & liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdome*. The King, saith *Houeden*, vsing ill counsell, required of them their Castles, & beginning with *William de Aubenie* demanded to haue his Castle of *Beauoyr*; *William* deliuers his son in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, hauing taken order for the gouernment, he passes ouer with his Queene into *Normandy*, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the reuolters to forbeare their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as strong couenants, and cautions as could be deuised, is made of the Agreements with King *Philip* of *France*, who feasts the King of *England* and his Queene at *Paris* with all complements of amitie.

His second Coronation.

1202. *Anno Reg.* 4.

Vide Append.

And here both Kings, ſolicited by the Popes Legat grant a Subſidy of the fortieth part of all their Subiects reuenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to ſuccor the Holy Land. For the leauying whereof in *England*, *Geffrey Fitz Peter* Chiefe Iuſticiar ſends out his Writs by way of requeſt and perſwaſion, *and not as of due or coaction, to auoyd example.*

But many moneths paſſed not, ere a new conſpiracy brake out by the inſtigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who ſtung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the moſt ſenſible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poitou* and *Brittaine*, and raiſed a ſtrong ſide, which the King of *France* (notwithſtanding all thoſe tyes wherein hee ſtood ingaged to the King of *England*) betakes himſelfe vnto, in regard of his owne intereſts and aduantages, from which no bands could withhold him: and againe both theſe Kings are in Armes. The King of *France* declares himſelfe for *Arthur*, to whom he marries his youngeſt daughter: requires King *Iohn* to deliuer vp vnto him all his territories in *France*, and by a peremptorie day ſummons him to appeare perſonally at *Paris*, to anſwer what ſhould bee laide to his charge, and abide the Areſt of his Court, which King *Iohn* refuſing, was by ſentence adiudged to loſe all he held of that Crowne.

Then is he aſſailed on one ſide by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other by *Arthur*, and the Barons in *Anion*, who lay ſiege to *Mirabel*, defended by *Elianor* the Queene mother, and were vpon the point of taking it; when King *Iohn*, with greater expedition and force then was expected, came and defeited the whole Army of the aſſailants, tooke priſoner the Earle *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun* with the Barons of *Poitou*, and aboue 200. Knights, and men of command, all which he carried away bound in Carts, and diſperſed into diuers Caſtles both of *Normandy* and *England*.

He takes his Nephew *Arthur* priſoner.

This victory, which might ſeeme enough to haue eſtabliſhed his Eſtate, vndid him; for by the ill vſing thereof he loſt himſelfe, and his reputation for euer. *Arthur* is ſhortly after murthered in priſon, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his priſoners and Oſtages, ſo exaſperates the Nobility of *Brittaine*, *Anion* and *Poitou*, as they all take Armes againſt him, and ſummoned he is to anſwere in the Court of Iuſtice of the King of *France*, to whom they appeale: which, hee refuſing, is condemned both to loſe the Dutchy of *Normandy* (which his Anceſtors had held by the ſpace of 300. yeares) and all his other Prouinces in *France*, whereof the next yeare after, either though his negligence, being (as they write) giuen ouer to the pleaſures of his young wife, or by the reuolt of his owne Miniſters (incenſed likewiſe againſt him) he became wholly diſpoſſeſſed.

Arthur murthered.

1203. *Anno Reg.* 5.

And in this diſaſtrous eſtate, hee returnes into *England*, and charges the Earles and Barons with the reproach of his loſſes in *France*, and fines them to pay the ſeuenth part of all their goods for refuſing him aide. Neither ſpared he the Church, or the Commons in this impoſition. *Of which rapine* (ſaith *Mat. Par.*) *were executors*, Hubert *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *for the Clergie, and* Geffrey Fitz Peter *Iuſticiar of Eng. for the Layetie.*

King *Iohn* fines the Barons.

But all this treaſure collected, amounted not to anſwer his wants, or the furniſhing of freſh ſupplies for the recouery of his loſſes (for which hee vrges the ſame to bee raiſed) and therefore againe in leſſe then the ſpace of an yeare, another leauie (but by a fairer way) is made. A Parliament is conuoked at *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Markes and a halfe of euery Knights fee for military aide: neither departed the Clergy from thence till they had likewiſe promiſed their part. No ſooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-deuouring Gulphe of *France* to iſſue it, through a reuolt begun in *Brittaine*, by *Guido* (now husband to *Conſtance*, mother of *Arthur*) *Saueri de Mallion*, and *Almeric Lufignian*, confederate with many others; who receiuing not that ſatisfaction, expected from their new Maiſter, call in their olde againe, to ſhew vs, that mens priuate intereſts, howſoeuer Honour and Iuſtice are pretended, onely ſway their affections, in ſuch actions as theſe.

1205. *Anno Reg.* 7.

A Parliament at Oxford.

And ouer haſtes King *Iohn*, and by the power he brought, and what he found there, won the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mont Alban*, and after the City of *Angiers*; and was in a faire way to haue recouered more; but that the King of *France*, by the fortune of one day (wherein he ouerthrew and tooke priſoners the chiefe confederats, *Guido*, *Almeric*, & *Sauari*) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and returne into *Engl.* for more ſupplies.

And

And here another impoſition is layd of the thirteenth part of all moueables, and other goods both of the Clergy and Layetie: who now ſeeing their ſubſtances thus conſumed without ſucceſſe, and likely euer to be made liable to the Kings deſperate courſes, begimne to caſt for the recouery of their ancient immunities, which vpon their former ſufferance had bin vſurped by their late Kings, & to eaſe themſelues of theſe burthens indirectly layd vpon them. And the firſt man that oppoſed the collection of this impoſition, was againe the Archb. of *Yorke*, who ſolemnly accurſed the receiuers thereof within his Prouince, and ſecretly conueyed himſelfe out of the Kingd. deſirous rather to liue as an exile abroad, then to endure the miſerie of oppreſſion at home: *men accounting themſelues leſſe iniuriouſly rifled in a wood, then in a place where they preſume of ſafetie.*

1206. *Anno Reg.* 8. The cauſe of the breach betweene the King and his people.

And hence grew the beginning of a miſerable breach betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and diſioynted in thoſe iuſt Ligaments of Command and Obedience that ſhould hold them together; the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, coſt more adoe, and more noble blood, then all the warres forraigne had done ſince the Conqueſt. For this contention ceaſed not (though it often had ſome faire intermiſſions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt ſoueraigntie, and ſubiection (firſt obtained of this King *Iohn*, after, of his ſonne *Hen.* 3. (though obſerued truely of neither) was in the maturity of a iudiciall Prince, *Edward* the firſt, freely ratified *An. Reg.* 27. which was aboue foure ſcore yeares. And was the firſt ciuill diſſention that euer wee finde, ſince the eſtabliſhing of the Engliſh Kingdome, betweene the King and his Nobles, of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, we are to take a view of the face of thoſe times, the better to iudge of the occaſions giuen and taken of theſe turbulencies.

1207. *Anno Reg.* 9. *Vide* Append.

It was this time, about 140. yeares ſince *William* the firſt had here planted the *Norman* Nobility, whoſe iſſue being now become meere Engliſh, were growne to bee of great numbers, of great meanes, and great ſpirits, euer exerciſed in the warres of *France*, where moſt of them were commanders of Caſtles, or owners of other Eſtates, beſides what they held in *England*: and beeing by this violent and vnſucceſſull King ſhut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they practiſe to preſerue what was left, and to make themſelues as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priuiledges of the Kingdom (neceſſity now driuing them to looke into it) they more boldly preſume to attempt, in regard they ſaw themſelues, and the Kingdom brought to be perpetually haraſſed at the Kings will, & that violence and corruption hath no faculty to preſcribe vpon them: wherein their cauſe was much better then their proſecution. For whilſt they ſtriue to recouer what they had loſt, and the King to keepe what hee by aduantage of time and ſufferance had gotten, many vniuſt and inſolent courſes are vſed on either ſide, which leaue their ſtaine to poſterity, and make foule the memory of thoſe times. We can excuſe no part herein, all was ill, and out of order. A diſeaſed Head firſt made a diſtempered body, which being not to be recouered apart, rendred the ſickneſſe ſo long and teadious as it was. Beſides, the ſtrange corruption of the ſeaſon concurred, to adde to this miſchiefe: An ambitious Clergy polluted with auarice, brought Piety in ſhew to be a preſumptiue party herein, & takes aduantages vpon the weakeneſſes they found, for which, the *Roman* Church heares ill to this day. And the occaſion of their interpoſition in this buſineſſe beganne about the Election of a new Archb. of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monkes of that Couent had made ſecretly in the night, of one *Reginald* their Subprior; to preuent the King whom they would not, ſhould haue a hand in the buſines, which they pretended to appertaine freely to themſelues by their ancient priuiledges. And this *Reginald* (thus elected) they inſtantly diſpatch towards *Rome*, taking his Oath of ſecreſie before hand. But the fulneſſe of his ioy burſt open that locke, and out comes the report of his aduancement, vpon his landing in *Flanders*; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow, ſend to the King to craue leaue to elect a fit man for that Sea. The King nominates vnto them *Iohn Gray* Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he eſpecially fauoured, and perſwaded them (vpon great promiſes of their good) to preferre: the Kings deſire is propounded to the Couent, and after much debate, is *Iohn Gray* aduanced to the Chaire.

Reginald firſt choſen Archb. by the Monks.

Wherein their laſt error (ſaith *Mat. Par.*) *was worſt then their firſt, and began thadiſcord, which after prooued an irreparable dammage to the Kingdome.*

The King ſends to *Rome* certaine of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongſt whom was one *Helias de Branſield*, a moſt truſty ſeruant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtaine the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the ſame time likewiſe ſend the Biſhops ſuffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaints, to the Pope againſt the Monkes for preſuming to make election without their aſſiſtance, as by Right and Cuſtome they ought: alledging examples of three Archbiſhops ſo elected. The Monkes oppoſe this allegation, offering to bring proofe that they onely, by the ſpeciall priuiledge of the Roman Biſhops, were accuſtomed to make this Election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day for deciding this Controuerſie; wherein the firſt Election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without ſolemne ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: the laſt was argued by ſome of the Monkes to be ill, by reaſon there was no caſſation of the firſt, which iuſt or vniuſt, ought to haue beene, before any other Election, could iuridically be made.

Innocent the ninth.

The Pope ſeeing the procurators not to agree vpon one perſon, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adiudged both Elections voyde, and preſents vnto them a third man, which was *Stephan de Lanſton*, a Cardinall of great ſpirit, and an Engliſhman borne, who had all the voyces of thoſe Monkes which were there, through the perſwaſion of the Pope, alledging it was in their power by his prerogatiue to make good this choyce.

Stephan Lanſton elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Stephan Lanſton thus elected, and after conſecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope diſmiſſes the Monkes and the reſt of the Agents with letters to King *Iohn*, exhorting him, *benignly to receiue this Archbiſhop Canonically elected, native of his Kingdome, learned in all the Sciences, a Doctor of Theologie; and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conuerſation: a man fit, both for his body and his ſoule, &c.* Withall hee writes to the Prior, and Monkes of Canterbury, charging them *by the vertue of Holy obedience to receiue the Archbiſhop to their Paſtor, and humbly to obey him in all Spiritnall and Temporall matters.*

These letters, with the notice of what was done at *Rome*, ſo inraged the King, as with all precipitation he ſends *Fouke de Cantlo*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to ſeaze vpon all they had; which preſently was as violently executed as commanded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flanders* (except ſuch as were ſicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiſcated.

King *Iohn* offended with this Election, writes to the Pope.

Herewithall he writes a ſharpe letter to the Pope, *accuſing him of the wrong hee did in caſſing the election of* Norwich *whom he eſpeciall fauoured, and aduancing* Stephan Lanſton, *a man vnknowne vnto him, bred euer in the Kingdome of* France *& among his enemies; & what was more to his preiudice, and ſubuerſion of the liberties appertaining to his Crowne, without his conſent (giuen to the Monkes) which ſhould firſt haue beene required, he had preſumed raſhly to prefer him: ſo that he much meruailed that the Pope and the vniuerſall Court of* Rome, *would not call to minde how neceſſary his friendſhip had hitherto beene to that ſea: and conſider, that the Kingdome of* England *yeelded the ſame greater profit, and commoditie, then all the Kingdomes elſe on this ſide the* Alpes. Beſides, *that he would ſtand to the liberty of his Crowne to the death*: conſtantly affirming, *that he could not be reuoked from the Election and preferment of the Biſhop of* Norwich, *whom he knew euery way fit for the place.* And in concluſion threatens, *that if he be not righted in the Premiſes, he would ſtop vp the paſſages of his people to* Rome; *and that if neceſſity required, he had in the Kingdome of* England, *and other his Dominions, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of ſo ſufficient learning, as they needed not goe to begge iuſtice, and iudgement of ſtrangers.* The Pope returnes anſwere to the Kings letter, and begins with theſe words, *When about the buſineſſe of the Church of* Canterbury, *we wrote vnto you, exhorting and requeſting you humbly, earneſtly, and benignly, you againe wrote backe to vs (as I may ſay, by your leaue) in a faſhion threatning, reproouing, contumacious, and ſtubbornely; and whileſt we tooke care, to giue you aboue your right, you regard not to giue vs according to our right, reſpecting vs leſſe then becomes you. And if your deuotion be moſt neceſſary for vs, ſo is ours no leſſe fit for you. When was, in ſuch a caſe haue honoured no Prince ſo much as you, you ſticke not*

to

to derogate from our honour, more then any Prince in such a case would haue done: pretending certaine friuolous occasions, wherein you alledge that you cannot consent to the Election of our beloued sonne Master Stephan Presbiter *by the title of Saint* Chrysogonus *Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of* Canterbury, *for that he hath beene bred among your enemies, and his person is altogether vnknowne vnto you.* Then argues he; *That it was not to be imputed vnto him for a fault, but was his glory to haue liued long at* Paris, *where he so profited in study as he deserued to be Doctor, not onely in the liberall Sciences, but also in Theologie: and his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in* Paris. *Wherefore hee held it a marueile if a man of so great note, natiue of* England, *could be vnknowne vnto him, at least in fame, since* (saith he) *you wrote thrice vnto him after he was by vs preferred to be Cardinall: that though you had a desire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you reioyced that he was exalted to a higher Office,* &c.

Then excuses hee the point that the kings consent was not required, in regard that they who should haue required the same affirmed how their letters neuer came to his hands, &c. *Although* (saith he) *in elections celebrated at the Apostolique Sea, the consent of Princes is not to be expected: Yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your consent, who were stayed at* Douer, *so that they could not performe their message inioyned them:* with other allegations to this effect, so that at length, saith hee, *wee were disposed to doe what the Canonicall* Sanctions *ordained to be done, without declyning either to the right hand or to the left, that there might be no delay or difficultie in right intentions, lest the Lords flocke should bee long without pastorall cure: and therefore reuoked it cannot bee.* In conclusion hee vseth these words, *As wee haue had care of your Honour beyond right, endeauour to giue vs ours according vnto right, that you may more plentifully deserue Gods Grace, and ours; lest if you doe otherwise, you cast your selfe into those difficulties whence you cannot easily get out: Since hee in the end must ouercome, to whom all knees bow in Heauen, Earth and Hell, whose Vicegerency heere below (though vnworthy) we exercise. Yeelde not therefore to their Counsells, who desire your disturbance, that themselues might fish in troubled Waters; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which will redound to your praise, Glory and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to repugne against God and the Church, for which, the blessed Martyr and glorious Bishoppe* Thomas *lately shedde his blood; especially since your Father and brother of eleere memory, late Kings of* England, *haue in the hands of the Legats of the Apostolique Sea, abiured that impious Custome. Wee, if you acquite your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you and yours, that no preiudice shall arise vnto you hereby.* Dated at *Lateran* the 10. yeare of our Pontificat.

Thus we see how these two mighty powers striue to make good each others prerogatiue, and defend their interests with words. But when the Pope vnderstood how the king of *England* had proceeded against the Church of *Canterbury*, hee sends presently his Mandate to the Bishop of *London*, *Ely* and *Worcester*, to deale with the king by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the whole kingdome of *England*. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a seuere hand vpon him: and with all charged the Bishops Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, by vertue of their obedience to receiue for Father the Archbishop *Stephan*, and to obey him with all respect. The Bishops as they were enioyned, repaire to the king: Shew the Popes Mandat, and with teares besought him, *as he had God before his eyes, to call home the Archbishop, and the Monkes of* Canterbury *to their Church, and vouchsafe to vse them with Honour and Charity, thereby to auoyd the scandall of interdiction, &c.*

The Popes Mandat to the BB.

The king interrupting the Bishops speech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope, and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, *That if they or any other should dare to put his Kingdome vnder interdiction, he would presently send all the Clergie of* England *to the Pope, and confiscat their goods.* Besides, *if any of* Rome *were found within any part of his Land, he would cause their eyes to be put out, their noses cut, and so sent home, that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations.* Charging moreouer the Bishops presently *to auoyd his presence, as they would auoyd their owne danger.*

King *Iohns* answer to the BB.

1208. *Anno Reg.* 11.

Of this their ill satisfaction the Bishop certifies the Pope; and shortly after the whole Kingdome of *England* is interdicted: all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments cease, except Confession, Extreame Vnction, and Baptisme of Children: the dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or prayer. The Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Bathe* and *Hereford*, secretly get out of the Kingdome.

To answere this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Shriefes, and other his ministers to command all Prelates and their seruants forth-with to depart out of the kingdome; deputes the Bishopricks, Abbayes and Priories into the hands of Lay men, confiscating all their reuenues: but the Prelates themselues get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expelled by force; which the officers would not do, hauing no Commission for the same, but they seize on all their goods to the kings vse.

Here the Monasticall Writers of that time (by whom onely wee haue notice of these proceedings) aggrauate the rigorous course taken in this businesse, telling vs that religious men, of what order soeuer, found trauailing, were pulled from their horses, robbed, and vily treated by the kings seruants, and none to doe them Iustice. And how the seruants of a Shriefe bringing bound vnto the king a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him: the king said, *Loose him and let him go, he hath killed our enemy.* But howsoeuer this were, there were Excesses too many committed in a time so vntied as this was.

The King takes pledges of his Nobles for their fidelity.

The King to preuent the defection of his subiects, which hee dayly doubted would follow vpon this his breach with the Church, sends with a military power, to all the potent men of the kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelitie; wherein many of them satisfied the kings will, sending some their sons, some their nephewes, other the neerest of their kinne. *William de Brause* a Noble man being required to deliuer his pledge, his wife preuenting her husbands answer, tells the Commissioners, *That the King should haue none of her sonnes to keepe, that was so ill a keeper of his owne brothers sonne, Arthur*; for which sodaine, and intemperat speech, the Baron sharply reprehending his wife before the kings seruants, told them he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfie the king, without any pledge, according to the iudgement of his Court, or that of his Peers, at any time or place whersoeuer.

His cruelty shewed to the wife and children of *W. de Brause.*

Vpon the report of this answer the king sends downe priuily to apprehend the Baron, but he hauing notice, or doubting what would follow; fled with his Wife, and Children into *Ireland*; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recouer mercy of the king, is said, to haue sent Queene *Isabel* foure hundred kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end she was there taken with her two sonnes (the husband escaping into *France*) and sent prisoner to the Castle of *Windsor*, where she with her innocent children were famished to death; so deerely paid she, for the offence of her rash tongue.

The Exchequer remoued to Northampton.

The king displeased with the *Londoners*, remoued his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great army marches towards *Scotland*, to make warre vpon that king for receiuing his enemies, and ayding them against him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this sort, that the king of *Scots* should pay eleuen thousand markes of siluer, and deliuer vp his two daughters pledges for securing the peace. Returning backe, hee caused all inclosures within his forrests to bee laide open, a worke of great griefe to his subiects; whom, though in nothing he sought to satisfie, yet seekes hee what hee may to fasten them in their obedience (whereof loue, and not rigour is the sureft bond) and takes homage of all free Tenants, yea euen of children of twelue yeares of age throughout the kingdome.

King *Iohn* excommunicated.

Two yeares, to the great distraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, seeing no yeelding in the king, proceedes to the excommunication of his person, that extreame course of abscission, which his Predecessor *Alexander*, better aduised, forbare to take, vpon a suggestion of a more haynous act committed by *Henry* the second, vpon the person of *Thomas Becket*; and by this violence, thinking to quaile the heart of a most vnmaisterable king, put him into more desperate rage with the Clergy, who, notwithstanding the Popes mandate, durst not execute the same for many dayes after.

And

And first one *Geffery*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, seruing in the kings Exchequer, conferring with the rest of his assistants, about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated king; and so without leaue retired himselfe home; and was the first subiect of his masters wrath. Who presently sent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in fetters in a most streight prison, and afterward, vpon the kings commandement, hee was put into a sheete of lead, wherein, with the waight, and want of victualls he soone perished.

The Archd. of *Norw.* forsakes the Kings seruice; his torture, & death.

This excommunication of the king of *England*, was accompanied the same yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to bee straines of an vniust nature, *especially for being both done in cases of the Popes owne particular interest, seeking to extend a predomination, beyond the bounds allowed vnto piety, which was, onely to deale with mens soules, and not their Estates.* For in the aduancement of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an especiall hand, opposing, for his owne ends the Election of *Philip*, Sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*. And in the vacancie of the Empire had seized vpon certaine pieces in *Italy* appertaining thereunto; which, *Otho* seeking to reuoke, procured vndeseruedly the Popes displeasure, who sent vnto him diuers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recouery, as also from that which *Fredericke* king of *Sicile* (who was vnder the tuition of the Apostolike Sea) had seized vpon.

The Emperor *Otho* excom.

The Emperour, is said to haue answered the *Popes* Nuncij, in this manner: *If the Pope vniustly desires to vsurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolue me from the Oath he caused me to take at my Coronation*; Which was, *that I should reuoke whatsoeuer rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperor not yeelding vnto the other, the sentence of Excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of *Germany* as the rest of the *Roman* Empire, are absolued of their fealty vnto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes, the greatest of all the Christian world, left to the mercy of their subiects; who, though they were, by this meanes, all vntyed from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme vnto their Soueraigns. For there are so many ligaments in a state that tie it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolue them altogether, vnlesse it be by an vniuersall concurrency of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome seene of what temper soeuer kings are, but they finde an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this king (the first of *England*, we finde put to this streight) had yet many noble members of power, besides the chiefe officers of the kingdome (whom their places confirme) that stucke vnto him. Whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

And the better to hold his reputation, and his people in action, hauing now no imployment abroad, hee seekes to secure all other members of the Crowne of *England*, which were vnder his dominion. And hauing ransackt great treasure from the Iewes, makes an expedition into *Ireland*, vpon intelligence of some reuolt and disorder there. And at his first ariual, all the great men which held the maritime Castles and the Champion Countries came in, and did homage and fealty vnto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote parts, and fastnesses of the kingdome, kept themselues away, and refused to come. Here to reduce the countrey into better order, he ordaines the same to be gouerned by the Lawes and customes of *England*, causes English money to be coyned there; and to be of equall valew with that of this kingdome, and currant alike in both: With many other orders, which had they bin with that care continued as they were aduisedly begun, would (as wise men deeme) haue setled that kingdome in an intire obedience, and saued all that great toyle, and expence, which the neglect thereof cost this State in succeeding ages. And now hauing deputed *Iohn Gray*, Bishop of *Norwich*, Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, hee returnes into England, where presuming now vpon his new gathered strength, he summons all the Prelates of the kingdome to appeare before him at *London*; of whom saith *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption, the summe of an hundred thousand pound sterling.

1210. *Anno Reg.* 12.

King *Iohn* reformes *Ireland*

The Clergy pay to the K. 100000. l. star.

And the next yeere, beeing the twelft of his reigne, with this treasure hee reduces *Wales*

1211. *Anno Reg.* 13.

Wales (that had rebelled) to his obedience, and takes eight and twentie children of the best families for pledges of their future subiection. Returning thence, exacts of euery knight, that attended not his army in that expedition, two marks; and at *Northampton* is pleased to receiue the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (sent to make peace betweene the kingdome and Priesthood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his kingdome, hee consented that the Archbishop and the Monkes of *Canterbury*, with all the exiled Bishops, should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart vnsatisfied, to the greater preiudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding to bee yeelding in any thing, falls to bee more imperious to constraine him to all whatsoeuer hee desired: And absolues all the Kings subiects of what condition soeuer from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, vnder paine of excommunication, his Board, Counsell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding preuailed not to diuert the subiects from the seruice of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, vpon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of *Wales*, that makes pillage vpon the Borders, to raise another Army to inuade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before he would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Welch*, to bee all hanged in his presence. But before hee had dyned, letters came that gaue him intelligence of a conspiracie intended for his owne destruction; and that if hee went forward in this warre, hee would be either slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returnes to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles hee suspected; and heere *Eustace de Vescy*, and *Robert Fitz Walter*, are accused of the conspiracie, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

1212. *Anno Reg.* 14.

1213. *Anno Reg.* 15.

But now the Pope, for the last, and greatest sentence that euer yet was giuen against any Soueraigne King of this kingdome, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall gouernment thereof; and writes to the King of *France*; *That as he looked to haue remission of his sinnes, he should take the charge vpon him, and expel King* Iohn *out of the Kingdome of* England, *and possesse the same for him, and his heires for euer.* To the same effect sends he likewise his letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, *That they should ayde the King of* France *in the deiection of this contumacious King of* England, *in reuenge of the iniuries done to the Vniuersall Church; granting like remission of their sinnes, as if they vndertooke the Holy warre.*

The Pope giues the Kingdome of *England* to the King of *France*.

And with this Commission is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops of *England* with *Pandolphus*, dispatched to the King of *France* for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrifie King *Iohn*, then any way to aduance the King of *France*, whom the Pope desired not to make greater then he was: howsoeuer, to amuse the world, he made shew to ingage him in this businesse. For he gaue a secret charge to *Pandolpus* apart, that if *vpon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of* France *for this deiection, hee could worke the King of* England *to such conditions as he should propound; absolution and restorement should bee granted vnto him.*

The King of *France* assembles his forces for *England*.

The king of *France*, vpon this act of the Pope, and the solliciration of his Ministers, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions to assemble their forces with Horse, Armour, and all Munition to assist him in this businesse, and bee ready, vnder paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeere: preparing likewise a great Nauie for the transportation of these forces into *England*. King *Iohn*, vpon intelligence hereof sends to all the ports of his kingdome commandement, to haue all shipping whatsoeuer possible to be made ready with all expedition: summoning likewise *all Earles, Barons, Knights, and who else could beare Armes of any condition, to be ready at* Douer, *presently vpon Easter, furnished with horse, armour, and all military prouision to defend him, themselues, and the Kingdome of* England *against this intended Inuasion, vnder paine of* Culuertage, *and perpetuall seruitude.*

King *Iohns* preparations for defence.

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to *Douer*, *Feuersham*, *Ipswich*, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and prouision to entertaine

tertaine them. So that multitudes were ſent home againe of vnneceſſary men, and onely a choyce reſerued of the abler ſort, which aroſe to the number of ſixty thouſand well appoynted for battaile. Beſides, ſo mighty a Nauy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

And thus prepared, King *Iohn* expects his enemies, when ſecretly, two Knights, Templars, ſent by *Pandolphus*, ſo wrought with him, as notwithſtanding all this great power of his, he deſcends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof *Pandolphus* is preſently aduertiſed, and withdrawes himſelfe out of the French Kings Army, comes ouer, and ſo terrifies King *Iohn* with the mighty forces bent againſt him, and the eminent danger wherein he ſtood, as he yeeldes to any conditions whatſoeuer propounded vnto him. And not onely grants reſtitution and ſatisfaction of what euer had beene taken from the Archbiſhop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*; the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln* (who were fled to the Archbiſhop:) but alſo laies downe his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, *the enſignes of his royalty*, at the feete of *Pandolphus*, deliuering vp therewithall the Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, and ſubmits himſelfe to the iudgement and mercy of the Church.

K. *Iohn* deliuers vp the Kingdome of *England* with his Crowne to *Pandolphus*.

Two dayes (ſome wright ſixe) it was before the Legat reſtored him his Crowne: at the receiuing whereof, he ſwore (and his Earles vndertaking for him) *that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould hold the Kingdome of* England, *and Lordſhip of Ireland from the See of Rome, at the annuall tribute of a thouſand Markes of Siluer*. And this, with his homage and fealty, he confirmed by his Charter at a houſe of the Templars, neere Douer. The eſpeciall weights that moued King *Iohn* to this extreame lowneſſe, they of thoſe times, note to be. Firſt, the conſideration of his offences to God, hauing liued fiue yeeres excommunicated, to the great deformity of his Kingdome. Secondly, the greatneſſe of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilities, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Aſcention* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter* a Hermit and Southſayer had propheſied, hee ſhould be no more King of *England*. Which, though miſtaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a ſort by this reſignation, and a new condition of Eſtate. But the Southſayer with his Son, ſuffered ſhortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwiſe interpreted diuination.

Vide Append.

The cauſes that moued K. *Iohn* to this act

Now, notwithſtanding this act and ſubmiſſion of King *Iohn*, the interdiction of the Kingdome continues, and his owne abſolution deferred, till reſtitution, and full ſatisfaction were performed to the Clergy; of which, eight thouſand markes of ſiluer was preſently deliuered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiuing thereof, tramples it vnder his feete, as contemning that baſe matter, in reſpect of the grace conferred vpon the tranſgreſſor; and returnes with the ſame into *France*. Where hee declares what had paſſed in *England*: *and forbids the King of* France, *vpon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterpriſe, ſeeing King* Iohn *had thus ſubmitted himſelfe to the Church*.

Pandolphus forbids the *French* Kings proceedings.

The King of *Fance*, now all in readineſſe for this great inuaſion, and full, with hope of victory, receiuing this ſodaine, and vnexpected Meſſage, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diuerted from this enterpriſe. Yet in the end, ſeeing his confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extreamely diſcontent, he giues it ouer.

Notwithſtanding, for his owne reputation and deſire of reuenge, hauing all theſe great forces on foote, and his nauy ready in the mouth of *Seine*, would vndertake ſomething to giue ſatisfaction both to the aduenturers, and his owne people intereſſed in this action. And for that, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flanders*, adhering to King *Iohn*, refuſed to follow him in this expedition, on him he falls (as being next him) enters into his port of *Dam, vowing that Flanders ſhould either be France, or France Flanders*. *Ferrand*, ſeeing this tempeſt come to light vpon him, ſends for ayde to King *Iohn*, who glad, hauing eſcaped at home the occaſion of a defenſiue War, to enter into an offenſiue abroad, both to imploy this great collected Nauy of his, and alſo put his people in action, whoſe diſmiſſion, without ſome ſatisfaction, he knew would breed no ſafe humor; diſpatches fiue hundred ſayle, with ſeuen hundred Knights into *Flanders* vnder the conduct of his baſe brother *William Long-ſword* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earle of *Bologn*, whom he

The *French* K. ſets vpon *Flan.*

he had lately entertained with a penſion, being for ſome demerit driuen out of *France*. And theſe arriuing at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the *French* Nauy vnorderly diſperſed, and without defence (their forces going out to inuade the Country) ſet vpon, and vtterly defeited the ſame, and afterward ioyning their power with that of *Ferrand*, draue the King of *France* home with great diſhonour, and exceeding loſſe.

King *Iohn* raiſed with this victory, and his peace with the Church, ſets vpon great deſignes, taking opportunity of this diſaſter of the King of *France*, whom, in reuenge of his iniury, and hope of recouering his tranſmarine Dominions, hee plots to aſſaile on all ſides: ſtirring vp his Nephew *Otho* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an Inuaſion on the Eaſt part, whilſt himſelfe with all his power ſhould enter vpon the Weſt. For execution whereof, firſt hee ſends ſupplies of treaſure to his Chieftaines in *Flanders*, then aſſembles a great Army at *Portsmouth*, wherewith, hee reſolues to paſſe the Seas,

The Nobility refuſe to ayde King *Iohn*.

But his deſigne contrary to his deſire and haſte, came to be delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refuſed to ayde or attend him, vntill hee were abſolued, and had confirmed vnto them their liberties: wherewith much inraged, ſeeing no other remedy, he ſpeedily ſends for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops, which were yet in *France*, promiſing them preſent reſtitution, and ſatisfaction, vnder the hands and ſeales of foure and twenty Earles and Barons, vndertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Biſhop and the reſt of the exiled Clergy, forth-with come ouer, and finde the King at *Winchester*, where hee goeth forth to meete them, and on his knees, with teares, receiues them, *beſeeching them to haue compaſſion on him, and the Kingdome of England.* Abſolued he is with great penitence, and compaſſion expreſt with teares of all the beholders, and ſweares vpon the Euangeliſts, *to loue, defend, and maintaine Holy Church, and the Miniſters thereof, againſt their aduerſaries to the vttermoſt of his power: That he would reuoke the good Lawes of his Predeceſſors, and eſpecially thoſe of King* Edward, *abrogating ſuch as were vniuſt: Iudge all his ſubiects according to the iuſt iudgement of his Court: That preſently vpon Eaſter next following he would make plenarie ſatisfaction of whatſoeuer had beene taken from the Church.*

1214. *Anno Reg.* 16.

Which done, he returnes to *Portſmouth*, with intention to paſſe ouer into *France*, committing the gouernment of the Kingdome to *Geffrey Fitz Peter*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, with charge that they ſhould order all buſineſſes, together with the Councell of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

And here a numerous company of ſouldiers repairing to him, complayned that by their long attendance their money was ſpent, ſo that they could not follow him vnleſſe they might be ſupplied out of his Exchequer: which the King refuſing to doe, in a great rage, with his priuate family, takes ſhip, and puts forth to the Iſle of *Ierſey*; but ſeeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (hauing loſt the opportunity of the ſeaſon) to returne into *England*; where hee gathers an Army, with intention to chaſtiſe the Lords who had thus forſaken him. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* followes him to *Northampton*, *Vrging that it was againſt his Oath taken at his abſolution, to proceed in that manner againſt any man, without the iudgement of his Court.* To whom the King in great paſſion replyed; *That hee would not deferre the buſineſſe of the Kingdome for his pleaſure, ſeeing Lay iudgements appertained not vnto him*: and ſo in fury marches to *Nottingham*.

The Archbiſh. threatens to excommunicate the King.

The Archbiſhop followes him, and plainely told him, *that vnleſſe he would deſiſt from this buſineſſe, he would excommunicate all ſuch, as ſhould take armes againſt any, before the releaſing of the interdiction; and would not leaue him, vntill hee had obtained a conuenient day for the Lords to come to his Court*, which ſhortly after they did, and a Parliament is aſſembled in *Paules*, wherein the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* produces a Charter of King *Henry* the firſt, whereby hee granted the ancient liberties of the Kingdome of *England* (which had by his Predeceſſors beene oppreſt with vniuſt exactions) according to the Lawes of King *Edward*, with thoſe emendations which his father, by the Counſell of his Barons did ratifie. And this Charter beeing read

This Charter is recorded in *Mat. Par.* with teſtes of the Subſcribers.

before

before the Barons they much reioyced, *and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, that for these liberties they would if needs required, spend their bloud.* And therewithall, concluding a confederation with the Archbishop, the Parliament brake vp.

Legam regis Edwardi *vobis reddo cum illis emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendauit.*

Shortly after dies, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, Iusticiar of *England*, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the lawes, and skilfull in gouernment. Who in that broken time, onely held vncrased, performing the part of an euen Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and Kingdome; whom though the King most vsed, he most feared, and least loued, as ill Princes doe their worthiest Ministers, whose grauity and iudgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, reioycing sayd, Now when he comes into hell, let him salute the Archbishop *Hubert*, whom assuredly he shall finde there. And turning to those about him, *swore by the feete of God, that now at length he was King, and Lord of England*, hauing a freer power to vnty himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, vnto which he repented to haue euer condescended. And to shew the desperate malice of this King (who, rather then not to haue an absolute domination ouer his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Ambassage (the most base & impious that euer yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) vnto *Miramumalim* the *Moore*, intitled the great King of *Affrica*, *Morocco*, and *Spaine*, wherein he offered to render vnto him his Kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his soueraigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian faith (which he held vaine,) and receiue that of *Mahomet*. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz Nichols*, Knights; and *Robert* of *London* Clearke. The manner of their accesse to this great King is related, with the deliuery of their message, and King *Iohns* Charter to that effect: and how *Miramumalim* hauing heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and Kingdome with the nature and disposition of the people, so much disdained the baseneſſe, and impiety of the offerer, as with scorne hee commanded his ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterward, to vnderstand some more particulars of the madnes of this King of *England*, hee called for *Robert* the Clearke, and had priuate conference with him apart, about many particulars which hee himselfe reuealed to many, in the hearing of *Mathew* the Monke of Saint *Albans*, who wrot and declared these things, describing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, blacke, one arme shorter then another; two fingers vnnaturally growing together, of visage like a *Iew*, *&c.* which relation we are not vtterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that grauity and credit, and liuing so neere those times, though to vs that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some part; yet if we consider whereto the desperate violence of this King, (who had made vtter wracke of conscience; and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likelihood, to haue had this dealing with an heathen King (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the mightiest Army that euer the *Moores* had in *Spaine*) which might either be to hold amity with him, or entertaine him otherwise for his owne ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, we may in charity forbeare to make it a part of ours. Although this relator giues vs a note (amongst other which hee suppresst) that poynted at the irreligion of this King, who at the opening of a fat Stag, leastingly said, See how prosperously this beast hath liued, and yet neuer heard Masse. Which skoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, sauoured of an impiety, vnfitting the mouth of a religious King, and gaue scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoeuer comes from the mouth of Princes; which may warne them to be wary what they vtter in publique.

Vide Append.

Mat. Par.

Miramumalim scornes the Message of K. *Iohn.*

A note of the Kings irreligion.

But this Embassage, either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the ouerthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed) King *Iohn* sets vpon another course, assailes Pope *Innocentius* (prone to be wrought by gifts to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subiection, which shortly after he confirmes by a new oath, and a new Charter before

King *Iohn* bribes the *Pope* and renewes his oath.

before the Popes Legat the Bishop of *Tusculum*, sent ouer for the same purpose, and with ful authority to compose the dissentions betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in diuers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary satisfaction to be made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King vpon account already, had payd twenty seauen thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were vndertaken by Sureties to bee answered by a certaine daie.

The interdiction released.

1214. *Anno Reg.* 16.

And hereupon is the Interdiction released, hauing continued sixe yeares, three moneths, and fourteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church, and Churchmen, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repayre to the Legat for satisfaction of damages receiued by the Kings ministers during this interdiction. To whom the Legat answeres: That it was not in his commission to deale for restitution to bee made vnto them all, but aduises them to complaine to the Pope, and craue of him plenary iustice. Whereupon they depart much discontented, holding the Legats proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining onely to please the King: Who now is recommended to Rome for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacy vsed towards him.

The King hauing referred the ending of all this controuersie to the Legat, and some other of his owne ministers (being assured of the Popes fauour) was now gone into *Poitou*, to assayle (according to his former designe) the King of *France* on that side: whilest his forces with those of the Emperour *Otho*, by the way of *Flanders*, inuaded him on the other. And being with his Queene, landed at *Rochel*, many principall Barons of *Poitou* (apter to promise then performe their faith) came and swore fealty vnto him: With whom he marches forward into the Country, recouers many Castles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne letters from *Parthenai* he certifies his Iustices of the Exchequer. And withall shewes them how hee had graunted to the Son of the Earle of *Marsh*, his daughter *Ioan* in marriage (though, sayd he, the King of *France* desired her for his Son, but fraudulently, &c.

Vide Append.

After this he goes into Brittaine, takes in the citty of *Nantes*, prepares to incounter with *Lewys* the *French* Kings Son, who was come downe with a mighty army to oppose his proceeding. But the *Poictouins* distrusting his power, or he them (hauing discouered the forces of the Enemy) refused to fight: Whereupon the King of *England* to his extreame griefe, forsooke the field, and made a dishonorable truce with the King of *France*; and this was the last of his transmarine attempts. His forces in Flanders had far worse successe; for the King of *France* with all the power he could possibly make, incounters them at the bridge of *Bouines*, and ouerthrew the Emperour *Otho*, and the whole army of the confederates, wherein are reported to haue beene an hundred and fifty thousand foote besides horse, and in the battaile, slaine a thousand fiue hundred Knights, and taken prisoners, *Ferraud* the Earle of *Flanders*, the Eathes of *Salisbury*, and *Bologne*. And (as report the *Annales* of *Flanders*,) the Earle of Sauoy, the Dukes of *Brubant* and *Lunenburg*, and the Earle of *Luxemburg*: the Emperour *Otho* 4. hardly escaped, and liued not long after.

The famous battaile of *Bouines*.

The death of the Emp. *Otho*.

Vpon these misfortunes, and fearing the outrage of a necessitous and distempered King, the Barons of *England* assemble themselues at S. *Edmondsbury*, where they confer of the late produced Charter of *Henry* the first, and swore vpon the high Altar, that if King *Iohn* refused to confirme and restore vnto them those liberties (the rights of the Kingdome) they would make war vpon him vntill he had satisfied them therein; and further agreed that after Christmas next they would petition him for the same, and in the meane time prouide themselues of horse and furniture, to be ready if the King should start from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his absolution, for the confirmation of these liberties, and compell him to satisfie their demand. After *Christmas* they repaire in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, vrging their desire with great vehemency: the King, seeing their resolution, and inclination to war, made answere, *That for the matter they required hee would take consideration till after Easter next: and in the meane time, he tooke vpon him the crosse (rather, as is sayd, through feare then deuotion.)*

K. *Iohn* takes vpon him the crosse to secure himselfe from the Barons.

deuotion) ſuppoſing himſelfe to bee more ſafe vnder that protection. But the Lords continuing their reſolution, fore-ſeeing nothing was to be obtained but by ſtrong hand, aſſemble an Army at *Stamford*, wherein are ſaid to bee two thouſand Knights, beſides Eſquires with thoſe that ſerued on foote: and from thence marched towards *Oxford* where the King then expected their comming, according to the appointed time, for anſwere to their demaunds. And being come to *Brackly* with their Army, he King ſends the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Mareſchall, with other graue Councellors, to demaund of them, what were thoſe Lawes, and Liberties they required, to whom they ſhewed a Schedule of them, which the Commiſsioners deliuer to the King, who hauing heard them read, in great indignation asked why *the Barons did not likewiſe demand the Kingdome, and ſwore that he would neuer grant thoſe liberties whereby himſelfe ſhould be made a ſeruant.* So harſh a thing is it to a powre that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his circle: not conſidering how they who inherit Offices ſucceed in the obligation of them, and that the moſt certaine meanes to preſerue vnto a King his Kingdomes, is to poſſeſſe them with the ſame conditions that he hath inherited them.

The reſolution of the Barons aſſembling their army at *Stamford*.

A Schedule of the demaunds of the Lords.

The Barons vpon this anſwere, being as haſty as he was auers, reſolue to ſeize on his Caſtles, and preſently march towards *Northampton*, which they beſiege, conſtituting *Robert Fitz Walter* their General, intituling him the *Mareſchall of the army of God, and holy Church.* And after they aſſaile the Caſtle of *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* rendring his charge, receiues them: and the Londoners ſend thither priuy meſſage to ioyne with them, and deliuer vp the City to be garded by their diſcretion.

The Lords ſeize on the kings Caſtles.

And thither they repaire, and are ioyfully receiued, vnder pact of their indemnity, where daily increaſing in number of new Confederats, they make their proteſtation, neuer to giue ouer the proſecution of their deſire, till they had conſtrayned the King (whom they held periured) to grant them their Rights.

The Lords repaire to London.

King *Iohn* ſeeing himſelfe, in a manner generally forſaken, hauing ſcarce ſeuen Knights faithfull vnto him, counterfeits the ſeales of the B B. and writes in their names to all nations that the Engliſh were all Apoſtats, and whoſoeuer would come to inuade them, he, by the Popes conſent, would confer vpon them all their Lands, & poſſeſsions. But this deuiſe working no effect, in regard of the little confidence they had in the King, and the powre of the Kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Mareſchall and others, and a Parle is had betweene *Windſor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow called *Running-mead* (a place anciently vſed for ſuch Conferences) where after many meetings, and much debate, the King freely conſented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the Kingdome, to confirme thoſe Lawes, and Liberties formerly reſtored, and in part ordayned by *Hen.* 1.

King *Iohn* forſaken of his people.

The Earle Mareſchall & other mediate a reconciliation.

A Parliament for reſtoring the Rights & Liberties of the kingdom.

And to the end that all diſcord ſhould vtterly ceaſe, he grants for the intire and firme enioying theſe Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner. *That there ſhould be fiue and twenty Barons choſen of the Kingdome, ſuch as they would, who ſhould, to their vtmoſt power cauſe the ſame to be held, and obſerued. And that, if either the King or his chiefe Iuſticiar ſhould tranſgreſſe in any Article of thoſe Lawes, and the offence ſhewed. Foure Barons of the fiue and twenty ſhould come to the King, or in his abſence out of the Kingdome, to his chiefe Iuſticiar, and declare the exceſſe, requiring without delay, redreſſe for the ſame: which if not made, within the ſpace of forty dayes after ſuch declaration; thoſe foure Barons ſhould referre the cauſe to the reſt of the fiue and twenty, who with the Commons of the Land might deſtrain, and enforce him by all meanes they could* (viz. *by ſeizing vpon his Caſtles, Lands and Poſſeſsions, or other goods*) (*his perſon excepted, and that of his Queene and Children*) *till amends ſhould be made, according to their arbitration. And that whoſoeuer would, ſhould take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandement of the fiue and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them diſſented, or could not aſſemble, the maior part to haue the ſame power of proceeding.* Beſides for more caution, the foure Chatelaines of the Caſtles of *Northampton, Kenelworth, Notingham*, and *Skarbrough, ſhould be ſworne to obay the commandement of the Fiue and twenty Barons; or the maior part of them, in whatſoeuer they thought good concerning thoſe Caſtles. Wherein none*

Articles of the agreement confirmed by King *John*.

Vide Append.

ſhould bee placed but ſuch as were faithfull, and would obſerue their Oath, &c. That all ſtrangers, whereof diuers are expreſly nominated ſhould bee mooued out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon graunted for all tranſgranſsions committed, through the occaſion of this diſcord from the beginning thereof to this preſent time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both ſides, in ſolemne manner, for the inuiolable obſeruing all theſe Articles. The King likewiſe ſends his letters Patents to all the Shriefes of the Kingdome, to cauſe all men of what degree ſoeuer, within their ſeuerall Shires, to ſweare to obſerue thoſe Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215. *Anno.* *Reg.* 17

King *Iohn* by euill councell truſtrates his owne Grants.

And in this manner (though it were to bee wiſhed, it had not beene in this manner) were recouered the rights of the Kingdome. Whereof, though they ſeeme to haue now the *Liuerie* they had not the *Seiſin*. For preſently the King being looſe from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, vnlooſes the Deed, and there wanted not thoſe about him, who obſeruing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently vpon that ſide; not in regard of his good, but their owne intereſts, making more profit by his irregularity then otherwiſe they could, of his orderly courſes: *telling him he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a Dominion, and a ſubiect to his Subiects.* Wicked counſellors, as if it were not enough, to be aboue men, but to be aboue mankind, as thoſe Princes would be, that would be vnder the Law; conſidering the preſeruation of Kings and Kingdomes is to haue the ballance of ſatisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by ſuch Counſailors is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deſerues to be deceiued in his executions, who vnderſtands not, as well the Counſailors, as the Councell.

Retires into the Iſle of Wight and writes to the Pope.

Reſolued he is (giuen ouer to confuſion, and reuenge) to diſſolue this tye, and priuily withdrawes himſelfe into the Iſle of *Wight*, from whence he ſends his Agents to *Rome* (where now he could doe any thing) to complaine of this inforced act to the Pope, who by a definitiue Sentence, firſt condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this abſence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in, and about the City of *London*; and there vnder colour of Turnements and exerciſe of armes, inuite thoſe who were abroad to reſort vnto them, and ſo retaine themſelues together in a combination for their owne defence, without ſeeking farther to interrupt their Kings courſes, either by ſurpriſe of his perſon, which they, being of ſo great ſtrength, might eaſily haue done, or vſing meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him thoſe Limbes of his powre that might worke to offend them.

The Pope excommunicates the Barons.

The error of the Barrons.

But this muſt either argue that their end was onely to haue (but what they had obtained) the reſtitution of the Liberties of the Kingdome (which though thus recouered by violence they ſeemed deſirous to hold with peace) or elſe their negligence; which may be thought ſtrange in thoſe wakefull and actiue times, to be ſuch, as to leaue a diſpleaſed King alone to his owne working, eſpecially remoued to a place, where the Sea being open vnto him, his out-ſendings might be without view or noting: vnleſſe either they preſumed of his little credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

The King ſends to leuy forraine forces.

But during this his retyre in the Iſle, which was three moneths, he ſlacks no time to put his deſires in execution, and beſides his diſpatch to *Rome*, ſends the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and others with his ſeale, to procure him forraine forces out of ſuch parts beyond the ſeas, as held correſpondency with him, appointing them to make their repaire to *Douer* about *Michaelmas* next. In the mean time, without any royall ſhew or ſtir (attended with ſome borrowed ſeruants of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, & marriners of the Cink-ports, whō he entertained) he, as they write, fell to piracy & exerciſed himſelfe at ſea: whiles various reports are made of him here on land: ſome giuing out, that he was turned Fiſher, ſome a Merchant, others a Pirate. But at the time appointed he meetes at *Douer* with thoſe forraine forces, drawne together out of *Poicton* and *Gaſcony*, vnder the Conduct of *Sauarie de Malcon*, *Geffrey* and *Oliuer Buteuile* brothers: with others out of *Louaine*, and *Brabant*, vnder *Walter Buck*, *Gerrard Sotin*, and *Godſhall*, all deſperate aduenturers, leading an execrable ſort of people, whoſe miſerable fortunes at home, eaſily drew them to any miſchiefes abroad; &

He meetes with them at *Douer*.

with

with theſe is King *Iohn* furniſhed to ſet vpon his owne people. And, had not *Hugh de Boues* (to whom the Countries of Suffolk, and Norfolk were allotted for ſeruice to be done) ſetting foorth from *Calice* with 40. thouſand more (men women and children) beene by ſodaine tempeſt drowned in the Sea, hee had made an vniuerſall Conqueſt of the Kingdome, far more miſerable then the *Norman*; conſidering that with thoſe hee had, he wrought ſo much as we ſhall heare preſently he did.

Hugh de Boues with forty thouſand men &c. comming out of Flanders drowned.

For, after he had recouered the Caſtle of *Rocheſter* which *William de Albinet*, with memorable courage, held out three monthes againſt all that mightie power of his (the Barons not able or not aduenturing to ſuccour him) hee marched ouer the moſt of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Caſtles of the Barons euen to the borders of *Scotland*, and was abſolute Maiſter of all *England* except the Citie of *London*, on which hee forbare to aduenture, in regard of the cloſe vnited power of the Barons that reſolutely held and vowed to dye together: and ſeparate them hee could not, and therefore from *Rocheſter* he marches to Saint *Albones*, where the firſt publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

The King in halfe a yeare recouers all his Caſtles.

1216.

Anno.

Reg. 18

And heere hee deuides his Army (conſiſting moſt of rauenous ſtrangers) in two parts: appoynting his brother *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, with *Falcaſius*, *Sauarie de Malleon* leader of the *Poictouins*, *Brewer*, and *Buc* of the *Flemings* & *Brabantines*, to gard the Countries and Caſtles about the City of *London*, to cut off all prouiſions, and anoy the Barons by all means poſsible: himſelfe with the other part of his forces draws Northward, and layes waſte all the Countries before him, and both theſe Armies ſet onely vpon diſtruction, inflict all thoſe calamities, that the rage of a diſorderly war could commit, vpon a miſerable people that made no head at all againſt them.

King *Iohn* at Saint *Albons* deuides his army in two parts.

All Countries ſuffer in this affliction, and King *Iohn* marching as farre as *Berwike*, had purpoſed to haue carryed it farther (threatning *Alexander* King of *Scots that hee would hunt the Foxe to his hole*, alluding to his red haire) had he not beene called from that attempt to come backe to theſe parts vpon diſcouery of new deſignes practiſed by the Barons, who ſeeing themſelues depriued of their Eſtates (giuen away to Strangers) their wiues and daughters violated, all their ſubſtance conſumed, deſperately fall vpon an other extreme, making out for ſuccour to *Louys* the French Kings ſonne ſolliciting him to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*, wherein they promiſed by their free Election to inueſt him, and to ſend pledges for the performance thereof, beeing perſwaded that thoſe forces of the *French*, which King *Iohn* had entertayned, would vpon the comming of thoſe aydes from the King of *France*, being their Soueraigne, forſake him. This meſſage is entertayned, a Parliament is called at *Lions* by King *Philip* the father of *Louys*, the buſineſſe conſulted, and reſolued vpon. *Louys*, beſides the aſſurance made of this proffered election, relyes vpon a title which he claymes by his wife *Blanch*, daughter to the Siſter of King *Iohn*, and writes to the Barons that hee would ſhortly ſend them ſuccour, and not be long behinde to be with them in perſon.

The Barons ſollicite *Louys* the *French* Kings ſonne, to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*.

The intelligence of this deſigne is ſoone intimated to the Pope who preſently ſends his Agent to the King of *France* with letters to intreat him, not to ſuffer his ſonne to inuade or diſquiet the King of *England*, but to defend him, in regard hee was a vaſſall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reaſon of Dominion, appertayning thereunto. The King of *France* anſweres, *that the Kingdome of* England, *neuer was, nor is, or euer ſhall be the patrimony of Saint* Peter, *and that King* Iohn *was neuer lawful King theref, and if he were, he had forfeited the ſame by the murther of* Arthur, *for which he was condemned in his Court, neither could he giue away the Kingdome without the conſent of the Barons who are bound to defend the ſame. And if the Pope would maintaine this error, it would bee a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.*

The Pope writes to diuert *Louys* from the enterpriſe.

Here with the Popes Agent departs vnſatisfied, *Louys* hauing firſt diſpatched Commiſsioners to *Rome* to declare his right & iuſtifie his vndertaking, ſets forth from *Calice* with 600. ſhips, and 80. other veſſell, and Lands with his Army at *Sandwich*. King *Iohn* attends him at *Douer* with purpoſe to encounter him at his landing, but vpon notice of his great power, and diſtruſting the faith of his mercinaries, hauing committed the keeping of the Caſtle of *Douer* to *Hubert de Burgh*, forſakes the field (and with it him-

Quater Vigint. Coggis.

Louys lands in *Kent* 21. of May.

himſelfe) retyres firſt to *Wincheſter*, after to *Gloceſter*, and leaues all to the will of his enemy *Louys*: who after he had obtayned the ſubmiſsion of all *Kent* (except the Caſtle of *Douer* which he neuer could get) he comes to *London*, where he is ioyfully receiued of the Barons, and vpon his Oath taken to reſtore their Lawes, and recouer their rights, hath homage and fealty done him as the Soueraigne Lord: thither came likewiſe the Earles *Warrein*, *Arundle*, *Salisbury*, *William Mareſchall* the yonger with many other (forſaking King *Iohn*) and rendred themſelues vnto him.

The little effect the Popes Excommunication wrought.

Guallo the Popes Agent (notwithſtanding the ſword was out in all the way of his paſſage) got to *Gloceſter*, ſhewes King *Iohn* the Popes care of him, and in ſolemne manner pronounces the ſentence of Excommunication againſt *Louys* and all that tooke part with him, which though it brought him ſome comfort for the time, yet it tooke little or nothing from the enemy: neither could it ſo confirme his mercinaries, but that moſt of them left him, and either returned home into their Countries with ſuch ſpoiles as they had, or betooke themſelues to this new commer. King *Iohn* was not yet ſo forſaken, but that he had power enough remaining, to infeſt, though not incounter his enemies, and faith he found abroad amongſt many of his Miniſters that well defended their charge. *Douer* Caſtle with a ſmall company holds out, againſt all the force that *Louys* could bring againſt it. *Windſor* Caſtle garded but with 60. men could not be won with all the power of the Barons; ſome other peeces, as *Nottingham* and *Lincoln* Caſtles made very reſolute reſiſtance. But nothing is effected, ſaue the ruine of the Country.

The moſt-yeelding and fertill parts of the Kingdome as about *Gloceſter*, the marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Cambridgſhire*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and all about *London*, at the Stages of this warre, and here they act their miſchiefes, which continued all that Sommer: And about the latter end of October, a burning feuer makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke him vpon an extreme griefe conceiued for the loſſe of his carriages ſunke in the Sands, paſsing the *Waſhes* betweene *Lin* and *Boſton*; and was augmented by a ſurfeit of Peaches, and new Ale taken at the Abbay of Swineſhead, from whence in great weakenes he is conuayed to Newarke, where, after he had receiued the Euchariſt, and taken order for the ſucceſsion of his ſonne *Henry*, hee departs this life, hauing raigned 18. yeares, fiue monthes, and foure daies.

The death of King *Iohn*.

The Abbot of *Crockeſton*, a man skilfull in phyſicke and at that time the Kings Phyſition disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would haue giuen notice, to the world had his Maiſter (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) beene poyſoned by a Monke of Swinſhead Abbay, but the Writers of thoſe times report no ſuch matter. Howſoeuer his death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as ſubiect as their euill Subiects, and cannot eſcape the brute of a clamarous Pen, witneſſe this Diſticque.

Mat. Par.

Anglia ſicut adhuc ſordet fœtore Johannis,
Sordida fœdatur fœdante Iohanne Gehenna.

He had iſſue by his wife *Iſabel* (daughter to *Aymer* Earle of *Angoleſme*) two ſonnes *Henry* and *Richard*, alſo three daughters *Ioane*, *Eleanor*, and *Iſabel*.

His iſſue.

Henry ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, *Richard* was Earle of *Cornewall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had iſſue *Henry*, and *Iohn* that dyed without iſſue, alſo *Edward* Earle of *Cornewall* and others.

Iohn Speed.

Ioane the eldeſt daughter (marryed to *Alexander* the ſecond, King of *Scots*) dyed without iſſue.

Elianor the ſecond daughter (marryed to *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter*) had iſſue *Henry*, *Symon*, *Almaricke*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Elianor*. *Henry* ſlaine without iſſue. *Simon* Earle of *Bigorre*, and Anceſtor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* firſt a Prieſt, after a Knight. *Guy* Earle of *Angleria*, in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuſcaine*: and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* remayning priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford*, to *Wellesborne*, was Anceſtor of the *Wellesbornes* in *England*. *Elianor* borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith*.

Iſabell

Isabel their youngeſt daughter (marryed to the Emperour *Frederic* the 2.) had iſſue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicile*, & *Margaret* wife of *Albert, Landgraue, Thurine*. She dyed in child-bed after ſhee had beene Empreſſe ſixe yeares. He had alſo two naturall ſonnes, *Geffery Fitz Roy*, that tranſported ſouldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his father to goe thither: *Richard* (that marryed the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Douer* (who built *Childham* Caſtle) had iſſue by her, of which ſome families of good eſteeme are deſcended.

Likewiſe one naturall Daughter *Ioane* married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The end of the Life, and Raigne of King Iohn.

The Life, and Raigne of Henry *the third.*

THE death of King *Iohn*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miſerable buſineſſes of the Kingdome: for *Louys*, notwithſtanding held his hopes, and his party though much ſhaken by the ſodaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldeſt ſonne to King *Iohn*, ſolemnized in a great Aſſembly of State at *Gloceſter* the 28. of October, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marſhall *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the maine Pillar of the father, and now the preſeruer of the Crowne to his ſonne, a man eminent both in courage and councell, who with *Guallo* the Popes Legat the Biſhops of *Wincheſter, Bathe*, and *Worceſter* worke all means to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King from this excommunicate ſtranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the minds of moſt of them doubtfull what to reſolue vpon, in regard of the tender youth of *Henry*, and their Oath made to *Louys*. 1216. *Anno. Reg.* 1. *Henry* the 3. Crowned at *Gloceſter*.

But ſuch was the inſolence of the *French*, making ſpoyle and prey of whatſoeuer they could faſten on (and now inuented by *Louys*, contrary to his Oath, in all thoſe places of importance they had recouered) as made many of the Engliſh to relinquiſh their ſworne fidelity, and forſake his part. Which more of them would haue done, but for the ſhame of inconſtancy, and the daunger of their pledges, remayning in *France*, which were great tyes vpon them. Beſides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confeſsion of the Viſcont *Melun* a French man, who, lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is ſaid to reueale the intention, and vow of *Louys* (which was vtterly to extinguiſh the Engliſh nation, whom he held vile, and neuer to be truſſed, hauing forſaken their owne Soueraign Lord) wrought a great auerſion in the hearts of the Engliſh, which whether it were indeed vttered, or giuen out of purpoſe, it was ſo to be expected, according to the precedents of all in-bought farreiners vpon the deuiſions of a diſtracted people. The confeſſion of the Viſcont *Melun* at his death.

And firſt *William* Earle of Salisbury, mooued in blood to ſuccour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the ſide of *Louys*, and with him the Earles of *Arundle, Warren, William*, ſonne and heire to the great Marſhall, returne to the fidelity of *Henry*, after 6. months they had reuolted to the ſeruice of *Louys*, which now may be thought was done but to temporiſe, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game, otherwiſe a brother would not haue forſaken a brother, nor ſo Noble a father, and ſonne haue deuided their ſtarres. Diuers Lords reuolt from *Louys*.

Notwithſtanding *Louys* found hands enough to hold *London*, withall the Countries about it a whole yeare after, ſo that the young King was conſtrained to remaine about *Gloceſter, Worceſter*, and *Briſtow*, where his wakefull Miniſters faile not to imploy all means to gather vpon whatſoeuer aduantages could be eſpied, and at length ſo wrought as they draw the enemy from the head of the kingdome downe into the body, firſt into *Leceiſter-ſhiere* to releeue the caſtle of *Mont ſorel*, a piece appertaining to *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Wincheſter*, a great partiſan of *Louys*, and after by degrees to *Lincoln*, where a Noble Lady, called *Phillippa* (but of what family, time hath iniuriouſly bereft vs the knowledge) had, more then with feminine courage defended the Caſtle, the ſpace of a whole yere, againſt *Gilbert de Gant*, & the French forces which were poſſeſt of the town.

The Earle Marſhall Protector of the King and kingdome, with his ſonne *William*: the Biſhops of *Wincheſter, Salisbury* and *Cheſter*, the Earles of *Salisbury, Ferrers*, and *Albemarle. William de Albinet, Iohn Marſhall, William de Cantelupe. Falcaſius, Thomas Baſſet, Robert Veypont, Brent de Liſle, Geffrey Lucy, Philip de Albinet*, and many other Barons, and marſhall men, being with all the power of the young king (whoſe forces as he marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called *Stow* within 8. miles of *Lincoln*, the Legat *Guallo* (to adde courage and reſolution to the army) cauſed vpon confeſsion of their ſins, the Euchariſt to be miniſtred and giues them a plenary abſolution, ſolemnly accurſing *Louys* with all his adherents, as ſeparated from the vnity of the Church, which done, they ſet foorth, and with ſuch violence aſſaile the City on all ſides, as the defendants (after the Earle of *Perch*, valiantly fighting, was ſlaine) were ſoone defeited, and all the principall men taken priſoners, whereof theſe are nominated: *Saer* Earle of *Wincheſter, Henry de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford, Gilbert de Gant*, lately made Earle of *Lincoln* by *Louys, Robert Fitz Walter, Richard Monfichet, William Moubray, William Beauchamp, William Maudit, Oliuer Harcort, Roger de Creſſy, William de Coleuile, William de Ros, Robert de Ropſley, Ralph Chanduit* Barons, beſides foure hundred Knights or men at Armes, with their ſeruants, horſe and foot. The number and quality of the perſons taken, ſhew the importance of the place, and the greatneſſe of the victory, which gaue *Louys* his maine blow, and was the laſt of his battailes in *England*.

The forces of *Louys* ouerthrowne.

The ſpoyles were very great beeing of a City, at that time rich in Marchandize, whereupon the winners (in deriſion) tearmed it *Louys his Faire*. Many of thoſe who eſcaped, and fled from this ouerthrow; were ſlaine by the Country people in their diſorderly paſsing towards *London*, vnto *Louys*, who vpon notice of this great defeat, ſends preſently ouer for ſuccours into *France*, and drawes all the power hee had in *England*, to the City of *London*; whether the Earle Marſhall with the young King bend their courſe, with purpoſe eyther to aſſaile *Louys* vpon this freſh diſmay of his loſſe, and the diſtraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquiſh the Kingdome. The firſt being found difficult, the laſt is propounded, whereunto *Louys* would not bee brought to yeeld, vntill hearing how his ſuccors comming out of *France*, were by *Philip de Albenie*, and *Hubert de Burgh* with the forces of the Cinke-ports all vanquiſhed at ſea; hee then hopeleſſe of any longer ſubſiſting with ſafety, condiſcends to an accord: takes fifteene thouſand markes for his voyage: abiures his claime to the Kingdome: promiſes by Oath to worke his father, as farre as in him lay, for the reſtitution of ſuch Prouinces in *France*, as appertayned to this Crowne; and that when himſelfe ſhould be King, to reſigne them in peaceable manner.

The ſpoyle of *Lincolne*.

The peace was concluded the 11. of Sep.

1218. *Anno. Reg.* 3.

On the other part King *Henry* takes his Oath, and for him, the Legat, and the Protector, to reſtore vnto the Barons of this Realme, and other his Subiects, all their rights and heritages, with thoſe liberties for which the diſcord beganne betweene the late King, and his people. Generall pardon is granted, and all priſoners freed on both ſides: *Louys* is honorably attended to *Douer*, and departs out of *England* about *Michelmas*: aboue two yeares after his firſt ariuall, hauing beene here, in the greateſt part, a receiued King, and was more likely to haue eſtabliſhed himſelfe, and made a Conqueſt of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) then the *Norman* that made way with his owne, had not the All-diſpoſer otherwiſe diuerted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an vnruly King, and the deſperation of an oppreſſed people, which now notwithſtanding the fathers iniquity, moſt willingly imbrace the ſonne, as naturally inclyned to loue, and obey their Princes.

1219. *Anno. Reg.* 4.

And in this recouery, the induſtry of *Guallo* the Legate wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended intereſt of the Pope, whoſe ambition had beene firſt an eſpeciall cauſe of this great combuſtion in the Kingdome, *but as they who worke the greateſt miſchiefes, are oftentimes the men that can beſt repaire them*, ſo was it in this, and therefore the leſſe worthy of thanks. The Legat was well payed for his pains, and, notwithſtanding the great diſtreſſe of the Kingdome carries away twelue thouſand Markes with him to *Rome*.

But thus the long afflicted ſtate beganne to haue ſome peace, and yet with many diſtem-

diſtempratures at the firſt, ere thoſe virulent humours which the warre had bred were otherwiſe diuerted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, either vnſatisfied in their expectations, or knowing not how to maintaine themſelues and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, ſurprizing of Caſtles, and making ſpoyles in the Country, as the Earle of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veypont*, *Foulke de Brent*, *Brian de Liſle* *Hugh de Bailioll*, with many other, but at length, they are likewiſe appeaſed. And ſeeing the warre muſt nurſe whom it had bred, an action is vndertaken for the Holy Land, whither *Ralph* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Wincheſter*, *William de Albeny* Earle of *Arundle*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *William de Harcort*, with many other, are ſent with great forces: beſides to vnburthen the Kingdome, all ſtrangers, vnleſſe ſuch as came with Merchandize, are commanded to auoyde the Land, and all meanes vſed for the regaining the ability it had loſt.

The death of the Protector Earle Marſhall.

And no ſooner had this prouident Protector the Earle of *Pembrooke* ſetled the Kings affaires, but he dies, to the great regrate of the Kingdome; leauing behind him a moſt Noble memory of his actiue worth, and is to bee numbred amongſt the examples of the beſt of men, to ſhew how much the Wiſedome and Valour of a Potent Subiect may ſteed a diſtracted State in time of danger.

The King again crowned. 1 Parliament.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (imparting the charge with many other great Councellors) is made Protector of the young King, who in *An. Reg.* 4. is againe Crowned, and the next yeere after hath by Parliament graunted for Eſcuage two markes of Siluer of euery Knights fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recouery of his tranſmarine Dominions, which now is deſigned, and *Malleon de Sauerie* the *Poictouine* with *William Longſword* Earle of *Salsburie* ſent ouer into *Guien* to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the moſt part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of *France* is required to make reſtitution of what he had vſurped, but returnes anſwere; *that what hee had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, hee would holde.*

1220. *Anno. Reg.* 5.

To retaine amity with *Scotland*, and peace at home, *Ioan*, the Kings Siſter is giuen in marriage to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margueret*, ſiſter to the ſame King, to *Hubert de Burgh*, now made Iuſticiar of *England*, and the eſpeciall man who guided the greateſt affaires of the Kingdome. *Wales*, reuolting vnder their Prince *Lewelin*, gaue occaſion of great charge and trouble to this State in the beginning of this Kings raigne, and long after, till it was wholly ſubdued. And a commotion in *Ireland*, made by *Hugh Lacy*, is appeaſed by *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, ſonne to the late great Marſhall, and ſome few yeeres after hath the Kingdome a kinde of quietneſſe, ſauing that *Falcaſius* (or *Foulke de Brem*) with certaine Chatelains (the dregs of war) fortifying the Caſtle of *Bedford*, with ſome other peeces of ſtrength, and committing many outrages, gaue occaſion of buſineſſe till they were gotten by hard aſſault.

1221. *Anno. Reg.* 6.

But now, the King being come to ſome yeeres of vnderſtanding, was, in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in behalfe of the State of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, vpon the peace which *Louys* for confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the warre began with his father, and being the maine baſe whereon his owne good, & that of his people muſt ſubſiſt, without which the whole State would againe fall aſunder; they would haue him to know it betime, to auoyde thoſe miſerable inconueniences which the diſvnion of Rule and Obedience might bring vpon them all, which though it were impiouſly there oppugned (as Princes ſhall euer finde mouthes to expreſſe their pleaſures in what courſe ſoeuer they take) by ſome Miniſters of his (amongſt whom one *William Brewer* a Councellor is named) who vrged it to haue beene an Acte of conſtraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithſtanding promiſed at that time by the King to bee ratified, and twelue Knights, or other Legall men of euery Shire, by Writs charged *to examine what were the lawes and liberties which the Kingdome enioyed vnder his Grandfather, and returne the ſame by a certaine day*, and ſo by that vſuall ſhift of Prolongation, the buſineſſe was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his raigne of ſixe and fifty yeeres (the longeſt of any King of *England*) this

1222. *Anno. Reg.* 7. 2 Parliament.

put

put him to the greateſt imbroylement, made him ill beloued of his people) euer croſt in his intendements) and farre a leſſe King, onely by ſtriuing to be more then he was: the iuſt reward of violations. And euen this firſt pauſe, vpon the lawfull requiſition therof, turned the blood, & ſhew'd how ſenſible the ſtate was, in the leaſt ſtoppage of that tender vaine: For, preſently the Earles of *Cheſter*, & *Albimarle* with many other great men aſſemble at *Leceſter* with intent to remoue from the K *Hugh de Burgh* chiefe Iuſticiar and other officers ſuppoſed to hinder this motion. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by his ſpirituall power, and the reſt of the Nobility, more carefull to preſerue the peace of the Kingdome, ſtood to the King, and would not ſuffer any proceeding in this kind, ſo as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were conſtrained to come in, and ſubmit themſelues. And here the King by Parliament reſumes ſuch alienations as had bin made by his Anceſtors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby hee might haue the more meanes of his owne without preſsing his ſubiect; but this ſerued not his turne.

Reſumptions.

1223. *Anno.* *Reg.* 8. 3 Parliament.

The next yeere after another Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein is required the fifrieth part of all moueables both of the Clergy and Layetie, for the recouery of thoſe parts in *France* withheld from this Crowne by *Louys* now King, contrary to his oath & promiſe made here in England at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome, (being the inheritance of the King, and the eſtates of moſt of the Nobility, and other the ſubiects, who had lands and poſſeſsions in thoſe parts, which no doubt, they deſired to recouer with their vtmoſt means; yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subſidy but vpon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end they obtained, in the ſame words and forme as King *Iohn* had granted them in the two Charters before.

Diſforeſtations.

And twelue Knights or Legall men are choſen in euery ſhire, vpon their Oath, to diſparte the old Foreſts from the new: and all ſuch as were found to haue beene inforeſted ſince the firſt coronation of *Henry* the ſecond to be diſafforeſted, and diſpoſed at their pleaſure, who were to poſſeſſe them. Whereupon they were laid open, plowed, and improued to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the ſubiect, whereby men, in ſteed of wild beaſts, were ſuſtained, and more roome made for them to vſe their induſtry.

1225. *Anno.* *Reg.* 10 4 Parliament.

Two yeeres with great quietneſſe, and generall content (the bleſsing of a ſtate) theſe liberties were inioyed, when the King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himſelfe to be of lawfull age, and free from cuſtody, to diſpoſe of the affaires of the Kingdome; cancels, and anuls the Charter of Foreſts, as graunted in his Nonage, hauing no power of himſelfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity: and cauſes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy, and all others, if they would enioy thoſe liberties, ſhould renew their Charters, and haue them confirmed vnder his new Seale: for which, they were conſtrained to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iuſticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is laid the blame of this mischiefe, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome; and bread a new inſurrection of the Nobility, who, taking aduantage vpon a breach lately faln out, betweene the King and his brother *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall* (about the Caſtle of *Barkhamſted* appertaining to that Earledome, which the King had committed to the keeping of one *Walleran* a Dutchman) ioyne with the Earle, and put themſelues in armes. For the King maintayning the cauſe of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Caſtle which he had taken from him; or elſe to depart the Kingdome.

The reuoking the Charters of Forreſts which bred a new inſurrection.

The Earle anſwers that he would neither do the one or the other: without the iudgement of his Peeres; and ſo departs to his lodging, leauing the King much diſpleaſed with this anſwere. The chiefe Iuſticiar fearing the diſturbance of the peace, aduiſes the King ſuddenly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to cloſe cuſtody, but the Earle either through notice, or doubt thereof, flies preſently to *Marleborough*, where he finds *William* Earle *Mareſhall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom he haſtes to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earles of *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Waren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with diuers Barons, and men at armes: from whence they ſend to the King aduiſing him to right the iniury done to his brother. The cauſe hereof, they impute

to

to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himſelfe, beſides they require reſtitution to be made without delay, of the liberties of the Forreſts lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwiſe they would compell him thereunto by the ſword.

The King, to auoyde this danger, appoints them a day to come to an aſſembly at *Nothampton*, where a concord is concluded: and to ſatisfie his brother, (beſides the rendring vnto him his Caſtle) hee grants him all that his mother had in dowre, and whatſoeuer land the Earle of *Brittane* held in *England*, with thoſe of the Earle of *Bologn* lately deceaſed, and ſo the Parliament brake vp. After this the generall motion for the holy wars intertaines ſome time. Which ſo ſtrongly wrought in that credulous word as ſixety thouſand ſufficient men, are reported to haue vndertaken that voyage: of whom *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *William* Biſhop of *Exceſter* are the leaders.

1226. *Anno.* *Reg.* 11. 5. Parliament.

The King is ſolicited by *Hugh le Brun* Earle of *March*, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come ouer into *France* to recouer his right, vpon the great alterations happening in thoſe parts by this occaſion.

1227. *Anno.* *Reg.* 12.

Louys the eight (who ſucceded *Philip* the ſecond) being lately dead, after his great ſiege of *Auignon*, and his warres made againſt the Heretickes *Albegeois* in Prouince, leaues the Kingdome to his ſonne *Louys* of the age of twelue yeeres, in whoſe minority his mother *Blanch*, taking vpon her the Regency, ſo diſcontented the Princes of the blood, as they oppoſe themſelues againſt her, holding it both diſhonourable and daungerous, that a woman and a ſtranger by the Councell of *Spaniards* (whom ſhee aduanced aboue the Naturals of the Kingdome) ſhould gouerne all according to her pleaſure, and therefore enter league againſt her. The chiefe of whom were *Philip* Earle of *Bologne*, vncle by the Father, to the King: *Robert* Earle of *Champaigne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Britagne*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his brother, and with theſe *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queen regent had erected the country of *Poictou* to a County, and made Earle therof *Alphonſo* her Sonne, brother to the yong king, whereby finding himſelfe incloſed within that County, he refuſes to acknowledge *Alphonſo* for Lord: inſtigated thereunto by his wife, a Queene *Dowager* of *England*, who could not comport a ſuperior ſo neere her doore, in ſo much as they likewiſe draw in the Earle of *Luſignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who alſo, preſuming vpon the greatneſſe of his houſe diſcended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and theſe with the Earle of *Britagne* call in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great ſums of the Clergy, of the City of *London* for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Iewes, paſſes ouer with an Army, lands at S. *Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poictou*, who with the Earle of *Britagne* doe homage vnto him, and great preparations are made to recouer ſuch peeces as had beene obtained by the late King of *France*.

French Hiſt.

The Queene Regent ſets out a powerfull Army to ſtop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much miſchiefe is wrought on both ſides in *Poictou Xaintonges*, *Angoumois*, where their friends and enemies ſuffer all alike. At length, ſeeing no great good to ariſe by their trauaile, both weary of the buſines, either a peace, or truce concluded.

The King of *England* beſides an infinite expence of treaſure hauing loſt diuers of his Nobles and other valiant men in the iourney, without any glory returnes home, bringing with him the Earle of *Britagne* and many *Poictouins* to receiue their promiſed reward, which, notwithſtanding all the former expence muſt be wrung out of the ſubſtance of the poore ſubiect of *England*.

Vpon his returne hee intertaines a purpoſe of marriage with a Siſter of the King of *Scots*, againſt which, the Earles, and Barons of *England* generally oppoſe; alleadging it to be vnfit that he ſhould haue the yonger Siſter, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iuſticiar, had married the eldeſt: and the Earle of *Britagne*, by whoſe Councell he was now much directed, diſſwades him likewiſe from it. To this Earle (after ſupplies obtained towards his expences, and debts in *France*) he giues fiue thouſand markes, as if remayning of the ſumme hee had promiſed. And for the reſt of the *Poictouins*, their preferments and rewards were to be had by the diſplacing and ſpoyles of his Officers, Receiuors, and others whom now he calles to accoumpt, and caſtes for defrauding him in

The king cals his officers to accompt.

1228. *Anno. Reg.* 13.

in their offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* Treasuror of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grieuously fined: then *Hubert de Burgh* his chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all vnder him in a place euer obnoxious to detraction and enuy) is called to account for such treasure as passed his office (which was then for all reliefes, and Subsidies whatsoeuer raysed on the subiect) and, notwithstanding he had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his office, and besides accused of haynous crimes of treason.

No sooner was this great officer, and inward Councellor falne into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which feare in time of fauour held in) were discharged vpon him, and euery act of his examined, and vrged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* laies to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wrastling in Saint *James* fields. *Anno Reg.* 4.) as done without warrant and law, and craue Iustice for his blood. *Hubert*, to auoyde this sodaine storme comming vpon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, whence, by armed men sent to pursue him, he is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contraty to the priuiledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of *London*, in whose Dioses it was, complaines, and so wrought that he is brought back againe to the same Chappel. But yet all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who giues strict commandement to the Shriefes of *Harford* and *Sussex*, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away he is sent prisoner to the *Vize*, his money left in the custody of the Templars, is brought forth, and seazed into the Kings hands; clayming that, and much more as stolne out of his Exchequer. *Steuen de Segraue* is put into his office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which seldome gaines by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same fortune. *Walter* Bishop of *Carliel* is likewise thrust out of his office of Tresuror, and *William Rodon* Knight, of his place of Marshall of the Kings house, and all the chiefe Councellors, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are remoued as distrusted, and only strangers preferred to their roomes. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, lately returned from the Holy Warres to be the Authour of most vnholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one *Peter de Riualis*, now the speciall minion about the King.

The King remoues his officers.

These straines of so strange and insufferably violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle *Marshall*, vpon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselues for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shew the King *his error, and ill aduised course, inferring strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their lawes and liberties, and that vnlesse he would reforme this excesse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, hee and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselues from his Councell*, whereunto the Bishop of Winchester *replies: that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers hee listed about him for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud, and rebellious subiects to their due obedience.* With which answer the Earle, and the rest, depart with more indignation: vowing that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their liues.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the K.

Hereupon the King suddenly sends ouer for whole legions of *Poictonins*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refused to come, both in regard they found themselues despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time sommoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the voyce of God and the people is vttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischiefe of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryar Predicant: but more Comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant discourse) asking the King: *My Lord, What is most necent to Sea-men, and what feared they most*, the King replies: Sea-men know that best themselues; then, my Lord I will tell you: *Petræ & Rupes*, alledging to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament vpon summos

After

After this, the Lords were ſummoned to a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: whether likewiſe they refuſed to come, vnles the King would remoue the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the *Poictouines* from the Court: otherwiſe, by the *Common Councell* of the Kingdome they ſend him expreſſe word, they would expell him, and his euill Councellors out of the land, and deale for the creation of a new King. 1232. *Anno.* *Reg.* 17

Vpon this threatning, pledges are required of the Nobility to be deliuered by a certaine day, for ſecurity of their alleagiance. But no act paſſed in this Parliament though diuers Lords came thither, as the Earle of *Cornwall*, *Cheſter*, *Lincolne*, *Ferrers*, & others. In regard the Earle *Mareſchall*, the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet*, and other Nobles were not preſent. Then were Writs ſent out to all who held by Knights ſeruice, to repaire to the King at *Gloceſter* by a certaine day: which the Earles *Mareſchall* and his aſſociates refuſing, the King without the iudgement of his Court, and their Peeres, cauſe to be proclaimed outlawes, ſeizes vpon all their lands, which he giues to his *Poictouines*, and directs out Writs to attach their bodies whereſoeuer in the Kingdome. 6. Parliament.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to weaken the party of the *Mareſchall*, wonne the Earles of *Cheſter* and *Lincoln* with a thouſand markes, and the King had ſo pleaſed his brother the Earle of *Cornewall*, as hee likewiſe left them. Whereupon they withdrew them into *Wales*, and confederat with *Lewelin* and other great men in that country, (whither alſo came *Hubert de Burgh* eſcaping out of the *Vize* Caſtle, and ioynes with them) taking their oath intermutually, that no one without other ſhould make their accord.

The King goes himſelfe in perſon with an Army, againſt thoſe reuolted Lords, into *Wales*, Where he had the worſt of the buſines, and much diſhonour, returnes to *Gloceſter*, imployes new forces of ſtrangers, but all without ſucceſſe. Whereupon a Fryar of the Order of Minors is imployed to confer with the Earle *Mareſchall*, and to perſwade him to come in, and ſubmit himſelfe to the Kings mercy, whom he had heard to ſay, that notwithſtanding his great offences, he would pardon, and reſtore to his eſtate vpon ſubmiſsion; and beſides giues him ſo much of *Herefordſhire*, as ſhould conueniently mainetaine him. Beſides the Fryar told him what he heard of other Councellors about the King, concerning the wiſhing of his ſubmiſsion, and in what forme they deſired it ſhould be imparted in priuat. And then, as of himſelfe, he vſes all inducements poſsible to draw him thereunto, ſhewing how it was his duty, his profit, aud ſafety ſo to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing mooued, told the Fryar what iniury hee had receiued, and that he could not truſt the King, ſo long as hee had ſuch Councellors about him: who onely ſought the deſtruction of him, and his aſſociates, who euer had beene his loyall ſubiects. And after many obiections made by the Fryar with vrging the Kings power, his owne weaknes, and the danger hee was in: the Earle concludes that he feared no danger: that he would neuer yeeld to the Kings will, that was guided by no reaſon: that hee ſhould giue an ill example to relinquiſh the iuſtice of his cauſe to obay that will which wrought all iniuſtice, whereby it might appeare, they loued worldly poſſeſsions more then right and honour, &c. The K. with an army againſt the Lords. *Vide* Append.

So nothing was done, the Warre continues with much effuſion of blood, all the borders of *Wales* vnto *Shrowesbury*, are miſerable waſted, and made deſolate. At length meanes is vſed to draw the Earle *Mareſchall* ouer into *Ireland* to defend his ſtate there, which was likewiſe ſeized vpon, by authority giuen vnder the Kings hand and Seale, and all thoſe great poſſeſſions deſcended vnto him from his Anceſtor the Earle *Strongbow* (the firſt Conquerors of that Countrey) ſpoyled and taken from him. And here, ſeeking to recouer his liuelihood, hee loſt his life circumuented by treachery: his death gaue occaſion of griefe, both to his friends and enemies. The King diſauowes the ſending of his commiſsion into *Ireland*, proteſting he neuer knew thereof, and diſcharges himſelfe vpon his Councellor. A poore ſhift of weake Princes. 1234. *Anno.* *Reg.* 19

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Biſhops grauely admoniſh the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the miſchiefe of diſcenſion betweene him, and his Kingdome, occaſioned through the ill councell of his Miniſters) to be at vnion with his people, to remoote from him ſtrangers, and others, by whoſe inſtigation, for their owne ends, theſe diſturbances are foſtered, 7 Parliament.

foſtered, and his naturall Subiects eſtranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous conſequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the Greeuances of the State, and the abuſes of his Miniſters, which were ſuch as all corrupted times produce) they humbly beſought him to gouerne his, according to the example of other Kingdomes, by the natiues of the ſame, and their Lawes: otherwiſe they would proceed by Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, both againſt his Councellors, and himſelfe.

The King ſeeing no way to ſubſiſt, and get to his ends, but by temporizing, conſents to call home theſe Lords out of Wales, reſtores them to their places and poſſeſsions, amoues thoſe ſtrangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to accompt. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Peter de Riuallis* and *Stephan Segraue* therupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, vpon mediation they obtained, with great fines, their Liberty, dearely paying for their two yeeres eminency and grace.

Iſabel the Kings Siſter married to the Emperor.

Things thus appeaſed the King giues his ſiſter *Iſabel* in marriage to the Emperour *Frederic* the ſecond (ſucceſſor to *Otho*, and grand-child to *Frederic Barbaroſſa*) the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Louaine* were ſent for her. Shee is conducted by the King her brother to *Sandwich* with three thouſand horſe. The marriage is ſolemniſed at *Wormes*. She was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yeelded neither ſtrength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to either Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, (*Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth) was ſuch and ſo great as all he could doe, was not enough for himſelfe. For not to let goe that hold of the Empire he had in *Italy*, with his hereditary Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil* which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, he was put to be perpetually in conflict, neuer free from vexations, thruſt from his owne courſes, enioyned to vndertake the Holy warres, to waſte him abroade, weakned at home by excommunications, and fines for abſolutions, for which, at one time he payde eleuen thouſand markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes ſo preuailed that in the Graue of this *Frederic* was buried the Imperiall Authority in *Italy*, after hee had thus raigned foure and thirty yeares, leauing his ſonne *Conrad* ſucceſſour rather of his miſeries then his inheritance. Hee had a ſonne by *Iſabel* named *Henrie*, to whom hee bequeathed the Kingdome of *Sicile*, and a hundred thouſand ounces of Gold, but hee liued not to enioy it.

1236. *Anno.* *Reg.* 20

To the marriage of this Siſter, the King giues thirty thouſand markes, beſides an Imperiall Crowne and other ornaments of great value: towards which, is rayſed two Markes vpon euery Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himſelfe marries *Elianor* daughter to *Raymond* Earle of Prouince, a match in regard of the diſtance of the place, with the meanes and degree of Eſtate, little aduantagious either to him, or his Kingdom, but the circumſtance of alliance drew it on, with ſome other promiſes which were not obſerued. So, that hee is neither greater, nor richer by theſe alliances but rather leſſened in his meanes, hauing no dowre with his wife, full of poore kindred, that muſt draw meanes from this Kingdome.

After the ſolemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily ſumptuous) a Parliament is aſſembled at London, which the King would haue held in the Towre, whither the Lords refuſing to come, another place, of more freedome, is appointed: where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome order is taken that all Shriefes are remooued from their Offices vpon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to auoyde bribery) put in their roomes, taking their Oathes to receiue no gifts, but in victuals, and thoſe without exceſſe.

Shriefes remooued for corruption.

Here the King diſplaces his Steward, and ſome other Councellors, and offers to take from the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, then Chancellor, the great Seale, but the Biſhop refuſes to deliuer it, alledging, how hee had it by the common Councell of the Kingdome, and without aſſent of the ſame, would not reſigne it, and hauing carryed himſelfe irreprehenſible in his Office, is much fauoured by the people. *Peter de Riuallis* and *Stephan Segraue*, are againe receiued into grace: an argument of the Kings leuitie, and

and irresolution, mooued, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and vndoe, and all out of time and order, wherein he euer looses ground.

And now faine would he haue reuoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as being done beyond his power, & without the cõsent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceiued displeasure of the people.

Anno Reg. 21. Another Parliament, or the same adiourned is held at *London*, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, hee requires the thirtieth part of all mooueables, as well of the Clergie as Layetie. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Leuies had beene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentith, now of the thirtith, and fortith parts: and that it was a thing vnworthy and iniurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and neuer did good to the Kingdome, either in expelling, or represing enemy, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subiugating the same to Strangers, that he should extort so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaues of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of *Aliens*. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, promised by Oath that he would neuer more iniurie the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely releeue him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the mariage of his Sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainely answer, *that the same was done without their Councell, neyther ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free frõ the fault*: After 4. daies consultatiou, the King promising to vse only the Councell of his naturall Subiects, disauowing and protesting against the reuocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inuiolable obseruation of the Liberties, vnder paine of excommunication, hath yeelded vnto him the thirtith part of all mooueables (reseruing yet to euery man his ready coyne, horse, and armour to be imployed for the Commonwealth. For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordayned that 4. Knights of euery Shire, and one Clerke of the Kings should vpon their Oath receiue and deliuer the same, eyther vnto some Abbay or Castle, to bee reserued there, that if the King fayle in performance of his Grants, it might bee restored to the Country whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leaue the Councell of *Aliens*, and onely vse that of his naturall Subiects. Wherein to make shew of his part, he sodainly causes the Earles *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *Iohn Fitz Geffrey* to bee sworne his Councellors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giuing that satisfaction to his subiects as he had promised concerning Strangers, and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not obserued in the leauying and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens Estates then was held conuenient. Moreouer *William Valentine* Vncle to the young Queene, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and possesses him so, as nothing is done without his Councell: the Earle of *Prouince*, the father; a poore Prince, is inuited to come ouer to participate of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Monford* a French man borne (banished out of *France* by Queene *Blanch*) is entertained in *England*, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Elianor* the Kings Sister (widdow of *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Great Mareschall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter to *Blanchman* Earle of *Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subiects, as put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought vpon, is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparant of the Kingdome (the Queen being yong and child-lesse) the preseruation of the good thereof, is argued to concerne him, and hee is the man imployed to the King to impart the publike grieuances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subiect) and cast away vpon Strangers who onely guide him, then the infinite summes hee had raysed in his time: How there was no Archbishopricke or Bishopricke, except *Yorke*, *Lincolne*, and *Bathe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earledomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheates, and yet his treasure, which should

9 Parliament. 1237. *Anno. Reg.* 21

Foure knights of euery shire ordained to take charge of the subsidie.

The comming of *Simon Monford* into *England*.

The Greeuances of the Kingdome.

be the ſtrength of the State, was nothing increaſed. Moreouer how he as if both diſpiſing his, and the Councell of his naturall Subiects, was ſo obſequious to the will of the *Romans*, and eſpecially of the Legat whom he had inconſiderately called in, as hee ſeemed to adore his footſteps, and would doe nothing eyther in publike or priuate, but by his conſent, ſo that hee ſeemed abſolutely the Popes Feudary, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King vpon this harſh remonſtrance of his brother, and the feare of a preſent commotion, after he had ſounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found reſolued to take part againſt him, hee againe (by the aduice of the Legat, who had earneſtly dealt with the Earle of *Cornwall* to reconcile himſelfe to his brother, but without effect) calles a Parliament at *London*. Whether the Lords came armed both for their owne ſafetie, and to conſtraine the King (if he refuſed to the obſeruation of the premices, and reformation of his courſes.

1238. *Anno.* *Reg.* 22

10. Parliament

Here, after many debatements the King (taking his Oath) to referre the buſineſſe to the order of certaine graue men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, ſealed, and publikely ſet vp to the view of all, with the ſeales of the Legat, and diuers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monford* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewiſe (with whom hee and the State were diſpleaſed) the Earle growes cold in the buſineſſe. The Lords perceiuing the ſtaffe of their ſtrength to faile them, failed themſelues, ſo that nothing is effected, and the miſeries of the kingdome continue as they did.

Shortly after, the King takes diſpleaſure againſt *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke* (the third ſonne of *William* the great Marſhall) and cauſed his gates to bee ſhut againſt him at *Wincheſter*, whereupon the Earle retyres into the *North*. And to ſhew how inconſtant this King was in his fauours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Maſter of the Kings Seale, and not onely ſo, but ſaid to be Maſter of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector, and Diſpoſer of Court) is throwne out with diſgrace, the Seale taken from him, and giuen to the Abbot of *Eueſham*. In like ſort, his brother *Geffrey* a Knight Templar is put out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobilitie; who had often before laboured their amouement, as held to be corrupt Councellors, and wrongers of the State, and now are they falne off themſelues. But the cauſe of this their deiection may ſhew, that oftentimes Officers vnder weake Princes are not ſo much faulty, as the World holds them to be: for not yeelding to paſſe a Grant from the King made vnto *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* (the Queenes Vncle) of 4. pence vpon euery ſack of Wooll (an enormious act then accompted) they both loſt their places, though not their reputations in this; their fall diſcouering what the Enuie that attended their fortune, hindred men to ſee. To this Earle of *Flanders* the next yeare after the King grants (notwithſtanding) 300. Markes (to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage.

1239. *Anno.* *Reg.* 23

Thomas of Sauoy marrieth the inheretrix of the Earledome of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life.

Now, beſides the great exactions of the King, and his waſtes. The Sea of Rome extorts huge ſummes, as if one Gulph ſufficed not to ſwallow vp the ſubſtance of the Kingdome, which opened the mouthes of our Clergie ſo wide; as they let out many exclamations againſt the auarice of the Popes of that time: and the *Romane* Factors, who by permiſsion of the King, or by his negligence, preſumed ſo farre vpon the eaſi-yeeldingneſſe of the State, as they wrung out what they liſted. In ſo much, as beſides the fleece, they would now haue the bodies of their poſſeſsions. And the Pope ſends his Mandat to haue three hundred *Romans* preferred to the benefices which ſhould be firſt vacant in *England*, which ſo amazed the Clergie, and eſpecially *Edmond* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as he; ſeeing no end of theſe concuſsions of the State, and Liberties of the Church: and himſelfe (on whom the Scandall of all muſt light, vnable by reaſon of the Kings remiſſenes to withſtand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) giues ouer al; and betakes himſelfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbay of *Pontiniac* in *France*; and there applies him to the contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, he yeelds, as a ranſome for his Church, 800. Marks to the Pope.

Edmond Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* giues ouer his Sea.

The Clergie, although thus left by their head, generally oppoſe what they could againſt

againſt the Popes rapine, who to get money for his wars with the Emperor vſed daily new and inſolent preſſures vpon them, in ſo much as they repaire to the King, declare how preiudiciall, and derogatorie it was to his royalty, and the liberty of the Kingdom to ſuffer this proceeding, which none of his Predeceſſors heretofore euer did: and of how dangerous conſequence it was to his ſucceſſors. The King, either not apprehenſiue of the miſchiefe, or content to ioyne with the Pope to puniſh and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliuer the chiefe oppoſers vp vnto him. Whereupon they ſeeing themſelues forſaken, and no powre to ſuccour them but their owne, did what they could to withſtand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation preſumes more peremptorily to vrge them to ſupply the Popes preſent occaſion, and holds a Conuocation at *London* for effecting the ſame. Wherein the Clergie declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the deſtruction of the Emperor, and effuſion of Chriſtian blood was vnlawfull, hee beeing not an Heretik, not condemned by the iudgement of the Church although excommunicated: That it was againſt the Liberties of the Church of *England*, beeing required vnder paine of Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, as a thing of ſeruitude and compulſion: That they had heretofore giuen a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that neuer any ſuch exaction ſhould againe bee made, leaſt it might be drawne to a Cuſtome, for as much as *Binus actus inducat conſuetudinem*: That for their buſineſſe in the Court of *Rome*, they were to paſſe through the Emperours Countries, and the daunger they might haue thereby: That it was not ſafe for the Kingdome to impouerish the King, who had many enemies, againſt whom hee muſt haue to ſuſtaine warre: And beſides how for the furniſhing of diuers Noble men, vndertaking of late the buſineſſe of the Croſſe, great contributions had beene made: That the Church of *England* was poore, and hardly able to ſuſtaine it ſelfe. That a generall contribution was to bee made by a generall Councell, &c.

Pope *Gregory* the 9.

Cod. de Epiſcopal. *L. Nemo.*

Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, though at firſt they ſtaggered the Legat, yet ſuch courſe was taken by winning ſome of them, vpon hope of preferment, as the reſt could not without the note of contumacy but yeeld perforce, ſo, by this treaſon of deuiſion, the body of the Councell is entred into, and the Pope preuailes in this buſineſſe.

The King hath now a ſonne lately borne, and *Richard* his brother Earle of *Cornewall* hauing likewiſe iſſue (by permiſsion of the State which heretofore hee could not obtaine) vndertakes the Croſſe, and with him his Vncle *William Longſword* Earle of *Saliſbury*, & many other Noblemen. Theſe departing out of *England*, *Peter* of *Sauoy*, another Vncle to the Queene, comes in, and hath the Earledome of *Richmond* beſtowed on him, with many other gifts, he is knighted & feaſted ſumptuouſly, for which the poore Iews by way of redemption, pay 20. thouſand Markes at two tearmes of that yeare. *Boniface* the ſonne of *Peter* of *Sauoy*, Nephew to the Queen is preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*. After this the King makes an expedition into *Wales*, which had often put him to great charge and trouble, hauiug been very vnfortunate, in his many attempts againſt *Lewellin*, intituled Prince, or King of *North-Wales*; who being lately dead, had left his two ſonnes *Dauid* and *Griffin*, by diuiſion of State to be at diſcord betweene themſelues, whereby he came to make an eaſier end of that buſineſſe, and now onely but with the ſhew of his power, got that, which, heretofore hee could not with much blood; hath ſubmiſsion, and fealty rendred vnto him by *Dauid*, with all his charges for that iourney, but now this ended, another attempt of great expence, but leſſe benefit is in hand.

Edward eldeſt ſonne to king *Henry*.

Richard Earle of Cornwall vndertakes the Croſſe.

1241. *Anno.* *Reg.* 25

The Earle of *March* with his wife, the Queene Mother, and many other great Lords of *Poicton*, ſo worke by their earneſt ſolicitation, with aſſurance of ſucceſſe, as the King is induced to vndertake another expedition in *France*. The matter is mooued in Parliament, generall oppoſition made againſt it, the great expence, and the ill it laſt brought to the Kingdome, vehemently vrged, *How it was vnlawfull to breake the truce made with the King of* France, *who was now to ſtrong for them to doe any good, &c.*

11. Parliament

Notwithſtanding many of the greateſt Peeres, drawne by faire promiſes, and their

owne hopes for recouery of their Eſtates ſo preuayle as the action is reſolued on, and an Ayde demaunded for the ſame. The very motion for money was ſo diſtaſtefull, as preſently all the Kings ſupplies made from the beginning of his raigne, are particularly againe, and opprobriouſly rehearſed, as the 13. 15. 16. and 40. part of all mens moueables, beſides Carucage, Hydage, Eſcuage, Eſcheates, Amercements, and ſuch like, which could not but fill his Coffers. Then the Popes continuall exactions, with the infinite charge for thoſe who vndertooke the Holy warre, are likewiſe repeated. Beſides they declare, how the 30. leuyed about foure yeares paſt (in regard it was to bee layde vp in certaine Caſtles and not to bee iſſued but by the allowance of foure of the Peeres) was, as they held it yet vnſpent: the King, to their knowledge, hauing had no neceſſary occaſion to imploy the ſame for the vſe of the Commonwealth, for which it was granted, and therfore reſolutely they denyed to yeeld him any more. Whereupon the King comes himſelfe to the Parliament, and in moſt ſubmiſsiue manner craues their ayde at this time, vrging the Popes letter, which hee had procured to ſollicite and perſwade them therunto. But all preuayled not, their vow made to each other not to diſſeuer their voyces, or to be drawne to a diſvnion held them faſt together. Inſomuch as the King is driuen to get what he could of particular men, eyther by gift or loane, and vſes ſuch meanes, as notwithſtanding, he carries ouer with him thirty Barrells of ſterling coyne, and taking with him his Queene, leaues the gouernment of the Kingdome to the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, hauing firſt, for his better quiet at home, contracted a match betweene his daughter *Margueret* (yet an infant) and *Alexander* eldeſt ſonne to *Alexander* 3. King of Scots to whom he commits the gouernment of the Marches.

A repetition of the Kings ſupplies formerly made.

The King carries ouer 30. Barrels of ſiluer into *France*.

The second expedition into *France*, had no better ſucceſſe then the firſt. For therein he likewiſe conſumed his treaſure vpon ſtrangers, diſcontented the Engliſh Nobility, was deceiued in his truſt by the *Poictouines*, who failed him with his mony, and after more then a whole yeares ſtay (the Lords of *England* leauing him) was driuen to make a diſhonourable truce with the King of *France*. And after hauing beene releeued with much prouiſion out of *England*, and another impoſition of Eſcuage, he returnes, puts the Iewes to another redemption; exacts of the *Londoners*; is viſited by his wiues mother, the Counteſſe of *Prouince*, who, bringing with her *Zanchia* her daughter, is (to adde to his other expenceſſes) ſumptuouſly feaſted, and a marriage ſolemnized between the young Lady and *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, whoſe wife was late dead, and he returned from the Holy warres.

The Kings ſecond expedition into *France*.

An impoſition of Eſcuage with another redemption of the Iewes. The Counteſſe of *Prouince* mother to the Queen comes ouer into *England* to the great charge of the Kingdome.

The olde Counteſſe at her returne is preſented with many rich gifts, hauing beſides, receiued an annuall penſion of 4000. Marks out of *England* for fiue yeares paſſed, in conſideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* ſhould, after her diſceaſe haue the Earledome of *Prouince*. But ſhortly after her returne home, ſhe diſappoints him of that hope: and beſtowes the ſame vpon her youngeſt daughter. *Beautrix*, on *Charles* the French Kings brother, who was after King of *Naples*, and *Sicile*. So that ſhe liued to ſee all her foure daughters Queenes; *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall* comming afterward to be elected King of the *Romans*.

1244 *Anno. Reg.* 28 12 Parliament.

Meanes now, vpon theſe profuſions, to haue freſh ſupply of Treaſure, was onely by way of Parliament which is againe in *Anno. Reg.* 28. aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and therein the Kings wants, and the preſent occaſions vrged for the neceſſary defence of the Kingdome, hauing now to doe with *Wales* and *Scotland*, whoſe Princes lately reuolting, ioyne together to annoy the ſame; but nothing could bee effected without the aſſurance of reformation, and the due execution of the Lawes, notwithſtanding the King comes againe himſelfe in perſon, as before, and pleades his owne neceſſities. Here they deſire to haue ordayned that foure of the moſt graue and diſcreete Peeres ſhould be choſen as Conſeruators of the Kingdome, and ſworne of the Kings Councell, both to ſee Iuſtice obſerued, and the Treaſure iſſued, and theſe ſhould euer attend about the King or at leaſt 3. or 2. of them. Beſides that the Lord Chiefe, Iuſticiar, and the Lord Chancellor ſhould bee choſen by the generall voyces of the States aſſembled, or elſe bee one of the number of thoſe foure.

Beſides

Beſides they propound that there might be two Iuſtices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer; and one Iuſtice for the Iewes, and thoſe likewiſe to be choſen by Parliament. *That as their function was publike, ſo ſhould alſo be their Election.*

But whiles theſe things were in debating, the enemy of mankind and diſturber of Peace, the Deuill, ſaith *Mat. Paris*, hindred the proceeding, by the comming of *Martin* a new Legat ſent from the Pope with a larger power then euer any before, to exact vpon the State; which hee ſuppoſed now to haue beene ſo wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne being ſerued, his likewiſe ſhould bee preſently ſupplyed. But making too much haſte before the firſt had paſſage, hee fruſtrates his owne deſire, and receiues a moſt peremptory repulſe of the whole Kingdome, in ſo much as his Agent was diſgracefully returned home with this diſpleaſing meſſage. *That the Kingdome was poore: had great warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Beſides this courſe was of daungerous conſequence to this State, which alone ſeemed expoſed to the Popes will, and therfore ſeeing a generall Councell was ſhortly to be held at* Lyons, *if the Church would be relieued, it were fit the ſame ſhould be done by a generall conſent in that Councell.*

Beſides, at this time the Emperour *Frederic*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Aſſembly, firſt *intreates, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might haue no ſupplies out of* England, *which (he ſayd) were only required to reuiue him, whom contrary to all Piety and Iuſtice he had oppreſſed, by ſeizing vpon his Cities, and Caſtles, appertayning to the Empire. And for many yeares (notwithſtanding his often ſubmiſſion & deſire of peace) proceeded in all foule and Hoſtile manner againſt him, both by the ſword, and vniuſt excommunications. And ſeeing he could obtaine no due hearing, he had referred his cauſe to bee arbitrated by the Kings of* France, *and* England, *and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therefore deſires, he might not receiue detriment, whence he expected fauour, as a brother and friend.* Adding in the end, *that if the King would bee aduiſed by him he would by paine free this Kingdome from that vniuſt tribute which* Innocentius *the 3. and other Popes had layd vpon it.* Theſe letters pleaſed the Aſſembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

Vide Append. The Emperor *Frederichs* letters to the King.

The interpoſition of this buſineſſe tooke vp ſo much time, as nothing elſe was done in this Parliament, onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty ſhillings of euery Knights fee, and that with much ado and repetition of all his former Aydes.

After this, vpon a light occaſion, the King vndertakes an expedition of great charge againſt *Alexander* King of *Scots*, for which euery Baron which held in *Capite*, Spirituall and Lay, were commanded to be ready withall Military prouiſion due for that ſeruice. Whereunto, likewiſe repaires *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* with three ſcore Knights and a hundred other ſeruants (thirſting for the Kings money) whoſe vnneceſſary comming was ill taken by the Barons of *England*, as if the ſtrength of the Kingdome without him, were not ſufficient for that Action, which was as ſodainely ended as vndertaken, by a faire concluſion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time.

Another Grieuances of the Barons.

Vpon this returne, againe that Winter he aſſembles another Parliament, wherein he mooues for an Ayde, vpon a deſigne he had for *Wales*, and to ſupply his wants, and pay his debts, which were vrged to be ſo great, as he could not appeare out of his chamber for the infinite clamor of ſuch to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other neceſſaries of Houſe. But they all to his face, with one voice, refuſed to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courſes are taken. An ancient quarrell is found out againſt the city of *London* for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thouſand Markes. And *Paſſeleue* the Kings Clerke is imployed with others in a moſt peremptory commiſsion, to inquire of all ſuch lands, as had beene inforreſted, and either to fine the occupyers thereof, at their pleaſure, or take it from them and ſell the ſame to others. Wherein ſuch rigor was vſed, as multitudes of people were vndone. *So vnſafe are priuate mens eſtates, where Princes fall into ſo great wants.* *Paſſeleue* for his good ſeruice in this buſineſſe ſhould haue beene preferred to the Biſhopricke of *Chicheſter*, but the Biſhop

13 Parliament

An inquiry about Lands inforeſted which bred great grieuances.

ſhop withſtood the king therein.

An inquiry of the Popes reuenues in *England.*

Now, in regard to ſhew the King the Eſtate of his kingdome, and the oppreſsion of Popes; Inquiry was made of the reuenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*, which was found to be annually, ſixty thouſand Markes, being more then the yearely reuenues of the Crowne of *England*: which ſo mooued the King, as he cauſed the ſame to be notified, with al other exactions, by his procurators to the general councell now aſſembled at *Lyons*; which (with the ill vſage of *Martin*) ſo vexed the Pope, as he is ſaid to haue vttered theſe words: *It is fit that wee make an end with the Emperor that we may cruſh theſe Petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeaſed or deſtroyed, theſe leſſer ſnakes will be ſoone troden downe.* Which impious ſpeech proceeding from ſuch a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace, and charity ought to be vttered, was as ill taken, bred great ſcandall, and gaue warning to Princes of preuention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, they were yet euer at one with the Church.

1245. *Anno.* *Reg.* 29

And the Clergy of *England* were moſt forward to vindicate the State from that miſerable oppreſsion which of late by degrees they were drawne vnto, through the humility of their zeale: For, ſuch is the nature of Domination, whereſoeuer it ſits, that finding an yeeldingnes to indure, it neuer thinkes it hath power ſufficient, vnles it hath more then enough: for, if the Popes (the profeſſed ſoueraignes of piety) vpon the aduantage of mens zeale, and beliefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (ſo that to queſtion their ſanctions was taught to bee ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt) no maruaile if ſecular Princes, whoſe conſciences are vntyed, ſtriue to breake out into the wildneſſe of their wills from thoſe bounds wherein by the law of the ſtate they are placed.

Vide Apprend.

But vpon the *Popes* reiecting the conſideration of theſe grieuances of *England* (which were particularly deliuered in this councell at *Lyons*) and diſpiſing the Kings meſſage (who, he ſaid began to Frederize) it was abſolutely here ordained, vnder great penalty, that no contribution of money ſhould be giuen to the *Pope* by any ſubiect of *England*: and the King, for a time, buſtles againſt theſe forraine exactions, in ſuch ſort as it gaue ſome hope of redreſſe. But being of an irreſolute, and wauering nature, and a feard of threats, ſoone womanlike giues ouer what hee manfully vndertooke: ſo that the *Pope* continues his former rapine, though hauing by the continuall exclamations of the Clergy, beene brought to promiſe neuer to ſend any more Legats into *England*, yet imployes he other miniſters, vnder the titles of Clarkes, who had the ſame power, as had his former Agents, and effected vnderhand his deſires.

1246 *Anno.* *Reg.* 30

1247 *Anno.* *Reg.* 31.

1248. *Anno.* *Reg.* 32

Now the other part of the ſtate haue new occaſions of complaynt offered. *Peter* of *Sauoy* Earle of *Richmond* brings ouer certaine maydes to bee marryed to young noble men of *England* the Kings Wards, of which *Edmond* Earle of *Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the ſame yeare, 3. of the Kings brothers by the mother *Guy de Luſignan*; *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar* Clarke are ſent for ouer to be prouided of Eſtates in *England*. *Thomas of Sauoy* (ſometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his ſiſter *Beatrix* Counteſſe of *Prouince* the Queenes Mother: and they are againe feaſted, and gifted: for which the King is taxed in the next Parliament conuoked in *London* in *Candlemas* Tearme: and beſides ſharply reprehended *for his breach of promiſe (vpon his requiring of another ayde) hauing vowed and declared (vpon his laſt ſupply) by his Charter, neuer more to iniury the ſtate in that kinde. Beſides they blame him for his violent taking vp of prouiſions for dyet, Wax, Silkes, robes, &c. and eſpecially for wine, contrary to the will of the ſellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdomes withdraw their commodities, inſo much as all traffique and commerce vtterly ceaſe, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome. That his Iudges were ſent in circuit vnder pretext of Iuſtice to fleece the people. That* Robert de Paſſeleue *had wrung from the borders of Foreſts, for incroachments or aſſarts, great ſummes of money, and therefore they wonder he ſhould now demand reliefe from the impoueriſhed commons: and aduiſed him ſince his needleſſe expences* (poſquam Regni cæpit eſſe dilapidator) *amounted to bee aboue* 800. *thouſand pounds) that hee ſhould pull from his fauourites inriched with this treaſure of the Kingdome, and reuoke the old Lands of the Crowne.*

14. Parliament

That he took from his ſubiects, *quicquid habuerunt in eſculentis, & poculentis Ruſticorum enim Equos, Bigas, Vina Victualia ad libitum ca-pit.* Riſhanger.

Then

Then they reproue him *for keeping vacant in his hands Bishoprickes, and Abbayes, contrarie to the liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, they all generally complaine for that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasurer, were not made by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predecessors, and as it was fit and expedient; but such aduanced, as followed his will, in whatsoeuer tended to his gaine, and sought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome but their owne.*

The King patiently indures this reprehension, in hope to obtaine his desire and giues them promises of redresse, but nothing is effected; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midsommer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would beare himselfe towards them; that accordingly they might obay, and satisfie his desire.

But this delay wrought no good, the King through ill Councell growes more obdurate, and harsh to his people, in so much as at the next Session he makes this speech: *Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your vnciuill pleasure, and impose a seruile condition vpon him? will you deny vnto him what euery one of you, as you list, may doe? It is lawfull for euery one of you to vse what counsell he will, and euery master of a familie to preferre to any office in his house whom he pleases, and displace again when he list, and will you rashly deny your Lord, and King to doe the like? Whereas seruants ought not to iudge their Master, and Subiects their Prince, or hold them to their conditions. For the seruant is not aboue his Lord, nor the Disciple aboue his Master. Neither should hee bee your King, but as your seruants who should so incline to your pleasures*: wherefore hee will neither remooue the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, according to their motion. In like manner finds hee answeres to the rest of their Articles, and for the ayde hee required, it concern'd (hee said) their Right as well as his. And so the Parliament brake vp in discontent.

The Kings speech in Parliament.

The King is aduised to furnish his wants with the sale of his Plate, and Iewels of the Crowne, being told that as all riuers haue reflux to the sea, so all these things though sold, and disperced would reuert againe vnto him, and therefore it should not mooue him, and hauing with great losse receiued money for this ware, he inquires who had bought it, answer was made, the Citie of *London, that City*, said he, *is an vnexhaustible Gulph: if* Octauius *treasure were to be sold they would surely buy it*, and there withall inueighes against the City which had so often serued his turne, and deuises all meanes to vexe the same, causing shortly after a new faire to bee kept at *Westminster*, forbidding vnder great penaltie all exercise of Merchandize within *London* for 15. dayes, and all other faires in *England*, and namely that of *Ely*. This noueltie came to nothing, the inconuenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulenesse of the weather brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders.

Claus, An. 48. & 49 Hen 3. Beginneth first with sale of Land, then of Iewels, pawneth *Gascoigne*, & after his crowne when hauing neither credit nor pawnes of his owne, he layeth the ornaments and Iewels of Saint *Edwards* Shrine, giues ouer house-keeping.

That Christmas also (without respect of Royall Magnificence) hee requires new yeeres gifts of the *Londoners*, and shortly after writes vnto them his letters imperiously deprecatorie, to ayde him with money, which, with much grudging they doe, to the summe of 20000. pounds, for which, the next yeere after he craues pardon of the City, sending for them to *Westminster Hall*. And notwithstanding his continuall taking vp all prouisions for his house, he so much lessens his hospitalitie (introducing, say they, the *Romane* Custome of dyet) as was held very dishonourable, and vnusuall to the *English* Magnificence of Court.

1249. *Anno.* *Reg.* 33.

The king requires New-yeeres guifts.

Then, where he could obtaine nothing of the States together, he calles vnto him, or writes to euery Noble man a part, declaring his pouertie and how hee was bound by Charter in a debt of 30. thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*, and the *Gascoignes* (who otherwise would not suffer him to depart home) at his last being in *France*, notwithstanding he required nothing but of fauour, which where he found, hee would returne with the like. And fayling likewise herein, hee addresses his letters to the Prelates, where he finds as little reliefe. By much importunitie, and his owne presence he got of the Abbot of *Ramsey* 100. pounds: but the Abbot of *Borough* had a face to refuse him the like summe. Though the King told him it was more almes to giue vnto him, then to a beggar that went from doore to doore: the Abbot of Saint *Albones* yet

yet was more kinde, and gaue him 60. Markes. To this lowneſſe, did the neceſsitie of this indigent King (though his profuſion) decline him. The Iewes euer expoſed to his will, feele the weight of theſe his wants, and their Eſtates are continually ranſackt. One *Abraham*, found a delinquent, redeemes himſelfe for 700. Markes. *Aron* another Iew, proteſts, the King had ſince his laſt being in *France*, taken from him at times, 30. thouſand Markes of Siluer, beſides hee had giuen 200 Markes in Gold to the Queene.

1250. *Anno. Reg.* 34

The Lords aſſemble againe at *London*, and preſſe him with his promiſe made vnto them, that the Chiefe Iuſticiar, Chancellor, and Treaſurer might be conſtituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome; but by reaſon of the abſence of *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, which was thought to be of purpoſe, they returne fruſtrate of their deſire. So that diſcontentment ſtill goes on, *and neither ſide get any thing but by hard wreſtings, which became them both ill, and ſhew vs the miſeries of a diſioynted time.*

The kings ſpeech to the Chapter at *Wincheſter.*

The King labours the Couent of *Dureſme* to preſer his brother *Athelmar* to the Biſhoprick the Couent refuſes him, in regard of his youth and inſufficiency: the King anſweres, *that then he would keepe the Biſhopricke* 8. *or* 9. *yeeres more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturitie.* Shortly after the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter* falles voyde; and thither hee ſends preſently his ſolicitors to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedrall Church, to elect his brother, and for that he would not haue alſo their repulſe; he ſuddainly goes thither himſelfe in Perſon, enters the Chapter houſe as a Biſhop or Prior, gets vp into the Preſidents Chayre, begins a Sermon, and takes this text: *Iuſtice and Peace haue kiſſed each other*, and thereupon vſes theſe words: *To mee, and other Kings, and to our Princes and Iuſticiars, who are to gouerne the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Iuſtice: to you, who are men of quiet, and religion; peace and tranquillitie: and this day I heare, you haue (for your owne good) beene fauourable to my requeſt. Iuſtice and Peace haue kiſſed each other. Once I was offended with you for withſtanding mee in the election of* William Rale *your late Biſhop, a man I liked not, but now I am friends with you for this; and will both remember and reward your kindneſſe. As by a woman came deſtruction to the world, ſo by a woman came the remedie. I to ſatisfie my wife, deſirous to preferre her Vncle* William Valentine, *diſquieted, and dammified you, ſo now, willing to aduance my brother, by the Mother Will reconcile my ſelfe vnto you, &c. And you are to conſider how in this Citie I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound vnto me in a ſtraighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends he the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honour and benefit they ſhould haue by electing him, but concludes with ſome threatning. So that the Monkes, ſeeing him thus to require the Biſhopricke, held it in vaine to deny him; and* Athelmar *is elected though with this reſeruation; if the Pope allowed thereof.* Shortly after followes the memorable cauſe of Sir *Henry de Bath* a Iuſticiar of the Kingdome, and an eſpeciall Councellor to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Eſtate, and is ſaid in one circuit to haue gotten 200 pound land *per annum*, he is accuſed by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falſehood in the Kings Court, and the King ſo incenced againſt him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in *Loudon*, Proclamation is made that whoſoeuer had any action or complaint againſt *Henry de Bath*, ſhould come and bee heard: one of his fellow Iuſticiars accuſed him of acquicting a malefactor for a bribe. The King ſeeing the friends of the accuſed ſtrong, breakes out into rage proteſting that whoſoeuer would kill *Hugh de Bath* ſhould be acquitted for the deede: but afterward he comes pacified by the Earle of *Cornwale*, and the Biſhop of *London, who vrged the danger of the time, the diſcontentment of the Kingdome; and how the proceeding in ſuch a manner with one of his Councell, whom he had vſed in ſo great buſineſſe, would diſcourage others to ſerue ſuch a Maſter, who vpon malicious accuſations ſhould ſo forſake them, whoſe places were euer expoſed to enuy and detraction.* And thereupon Sir *Henry* is releaſed paying, 2000 Markes and after reſtored to his former place and fauour.

The cauſe of Sir *H. Bath.*

1251. *Anno. Reg.* 35

15 Parliament.

The marriage of *Margueret* with *Alexander* K. of *Scots*, ſolemnized at Yorke.

The King keeping his Chriſtmas at *Yorke*, the marriage is ſolemnized betweene *Alexander* King of *Scots* and *Margaret* his Daughter, the ryot of which feaſt with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diſeaſed time) is deſcribed by our author, who amongſt other things, reports how the Archbiſhop gaue 60. fat Oxen which were ſpent

at one meale; beſides that feaſt coſt him 4000. Markes, which ſhewes, the pouerty of the Church, was not ſo great as it was pretended to be, ſeeing when they would ſhew their glory, they could finde what they denyed at other times.

The Pope Sollicites the King to vndertake the Croſſe, and ſo doth *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*; Offering to accompany him in Perſon to reskue the King of *France*. Who hauing euen emptied his country both of Treaſure and Nobilitie, was now taken priſoner by the *Soldan*, and held in miſerable captiuity. A ranſome collected for him in France, with great vexation, is by tempeſt caſt away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treaſure, which could not eaſily be had: the captiue King offers to reſtore *Normandy* to the King of *England* ſo hee would come to his reſcue. Which, the Nobilitie of *France* takes ill and diſdaine the weakeneſſe of their King: vpon the Popes ſollicitation and the grant of a Teuth of the Clergy and Laytie for 3. yeeres to come, the King of *England* vndertakes the Croſſe, rather it ſeemes to get the money then with any purpoſe to performe the iourney. Which, had it beene collected, would, ſaith *Paris*, haue amounted to 600. thouſand pound, to the vtter impouerifhing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both ſought, but by ſeuerall waies, for many now began to diſcouer, that, the Pope, by this imbarking the Princes of Chriſtendome in this remote, and conſuming warre, to waſt them, their Nobilitie and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power, and domination.

The King of *France* priſoner with the Soldian.

The King of England vndertakes the Croſſe.

The King by Proclamation calles the *Londoners* to *Weſtminſter*, and there cauſes the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, to declare his intention; and exhort the people to vndertake the croſſe and attend him: but few are mooued by their perſwaſion, onely three Knights) and they of no great note) are nominated: whom the King preſently, in open view, imbraces, kiſſes, and calles brethren, checking the *Londoners*, as ignoble mercenaries for that few of them were forward in this action, notwithſtanding hee there takes his Oath for performing of the ſame and to ſet forth preſently vpon Midſommer day next. In taking this oath, hee layes his right hand on his breaſt (according to the manner of a Prieſt) and after on the booke, and kiſt it, as a lay man.

1252. *Anno. Reg.* 36

A Parliament about this tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at *London*, the Biſhops are firſt dealt withall (as being a worke of pietie) to induce the reſt, they abſolutely refuſe the ſame, then the Lords are ſet vpon, they anſwer: *what the Biſhops (who were firſt to giue their voice conſented vnto) they would allow the ſame*, this ſhuffling put the King into ſo great rage as he draue out all that were in his chamber, as he had beene mad. Then falles he to his former courſe, to perſwade them a part, ſends firſt for the Biſhop of *Ely*, deales with him in all milde and kind manner, recounting *the many fauors he had receiued at his hands: how forward he had found him heretofore to ſupply his occaſions: and intreats him now to giue good example to others, &c.* The Biſhop replies: *he was glad, at any time to haue done him acceptable ſeruice, but in this, for himſelfe, to goe from that forme, the vniuerſality of the ſtate had determined, he held it a diſhoneſt act; and therefore beſought his highnes he would not vrge him thereunto, diſſwading him from that iourney by the example of the K. of France, on whom, he might ſee the puniſhment of God to be falen, for his rapine made on his peoples ſubſtance, wherewith he had now inricked his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinite treaſure of the Chriſtians tranſported into thoſe parts.*

The Biſhops and Lords deny the K. the Tenth granted by the Pope.

The King, ſeeing the reſolution of this graue Biſhop, in great paſsion commanded his ſeruants to thruſt him out of doore, perceiuing by this what was to be expected of the reſt; and ſo fals to his former violent courſes. During this Parliament (an ill time for ſutors) *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel* (widdow) comes vnto him about a Ward detained from her, in regard of a ſmall parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the reſt) the King giuing her a harſh anſwer and turning away ſhe ſaid vnto him. *My Lord, why turne you away your face from Iuſtice, that we can obtaine no right in your Court you are conſtituted in the middeſt betwixt God and vs: but neither gouerne your ſelfe nor vs diſcreetly as you ought, you ſhamefully vexe both the Church, and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may. To which ſpeech the King diſdainefully replies: Ladie Counteſſe hath the Lords made you a Charter and ſent you (for that you are an Eloquent ſpeaker) to be their aduocate and prolocutrix? No Sir*, ſaith ſhe, *they haue not made any Charter to mee. But the*

The ſpeech of *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel* to the king.

the Charter which your father and you made, and ſworne ſo often to obſerue, and ſo often extorted from your ſubiects their money for the ſame, you vnworthily tranſgreſſe, as a manifeſt breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, *ſo often written, ſo often granted, ſo often bought? I (though a woman) and with mee, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale againſt you to the tribunall of that High Iudge aboue, and Heauen, and Earth ſhall be our witneſſe, that you haue moſt vniuſtly dealt with vs, and the Lord God of reuenge, auenge vs.* Herewith the King diſturbed, *asked her if ſhee expected no grace from him being his kinſwoman: How ſhall I hope for grace, ſaid ſhe, when you deny me right? and I appeale before the face of Chriſt againſt thoſe Councellors of yours, who, onely greedie of their own gaine, haue bewitched, and infatuated you.*

The King reproued by the Maſter of the Hoſpitall of Ieruſalem.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reproued by the Maſter of the Hoſpitall of Ieruſalem in *Clerken-well*, who comming to complaine of an iniurie committed againſt their Charter, the King told him; *The Prelats, and eſpecially the Templars and Hoſpitalars, had ſo many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride madde, and that thoſe things which were vnaduiſedly granted, were with diſcretion to be reuoked: and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clauſe* non obſtante, *and why ſhould not he caſſat thoſe Charters inconſiderately granted by him, and his Predeſſors.* What ſay you Sir (ſaid the Prior, God forbid ſo ill a word ſhould proceed out of your mouth. *So long as you obſerue Iuſtice you may be a King, and as ſoone as you violate the ſame you ſhall leaue to be a King.*

The Fryers Minors, to whom he had ſent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the ſame with this meſſage: *That he ought not to giue Almes of what he had rent from the poore,* neither would they accept of that abhominable gift. With theſe and many ſuch like bold incounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subiects) is this King affronted: to ſhew vs the ill complexion of the time, and how miſerable a thing it is for a Prince to looſe his reputation, and the loue of his people, whereby they both haue their vexations.

Strangers commit ryots.

And daily more and more hardned hee is againſt the Engliſh: whereby Strangers are made ſo inſolent, as they commit many ryots and oppreſsions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whoſe youth and preſumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Caſtle of *Hartfort* to a Parke of the Biſhop of *Ely*, lying neere his manner of *Hatfield*, where after hauing ſpoyled much game he enters into the Biſhops houſe and finding no drinke but Ale, cauſes the Cellar doore being ſtrongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the reſt on the floore. But a greater violence then this was offred to an Officiall of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Wincheſter* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both, and gaue them much to doe before it was appeaſed. *Guy de Luſignan*, the other brother of the King comming as a gueſt to the Abbot of Saint *Albones* violates the Rights of Hoſpitalitie, and many other iniuries, are reported by our Author to haue beene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made of that time, wherein, this was ſaid to bee the vſuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is giuen to Aliens, and our houſes to Strangers,* which notwithſtanding the King ſeekes ſtill to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Luſignan* Earle of *Angoleſme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter* a man eminent, and deerely loued of the Nobilitie: Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Country, the King promiſes her a dowre of fiue thouſand Markes, which hee ſought to borrow of diuers, but could not.

The City of *London* is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000. Markes: and the *Gaſcoyns* being vpon reuolt (vnleſſe ſpeedy remedie were taken) generall muſters are made, and commandement giuen that whoſoeuer could diſpend 13. pound *per annum*, ſhould furniſh out a horſe-man. This with the extreame wants of the King occaſions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it ſeemes wiſely to conſider that all their oppoſition did no good, the Kings turne muſt bee ſerued one way or other,

other, ſome muſt pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars it was far more heauy, then it could be in generall: and therefore they agreed to releeue him rather by the vſuall way, then force him to thoſe extrauagant courſes which he tooke. But ſo, as the reformation of the gouernment and ratification of their lawes might be once againe ſolemnly confirmed.

And after fifteene daies conſultation to ſatisfie the Kings deſire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords ſhould, vpon his ſetting forth, bee deſtributed for 3. yeeres; and Scutage, 3. Markes of euery Knights Fee) by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe thoſe often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the moſt ſolemne and ceremoniall manner, as *Religion* and *State*, could euer deuiſe to doe. A Tenth, and Scutage granted by Parl.

The King with all the great Nobilitie of *England*, all the Biſhops and chiefe Prelates in their reuerend Ornaments, with burning candles in their hands aſſemble to heare the terrible ſentence of Excommunications againſt the infringers of the ſame. And, at the lighting of thoſe Candles, the King hauing receiued one in his hand, giues it to a Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, *it becomes not me being no Prieſt to hold this candle, my heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony*, and withall, laid his hand ſpread on his breaſt the whole time the ſentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Autoritate dei omnipotratis, &c.* which done he cauſed the Charter of King *Iohn* his Father granted by his free conſent to be likewiſe openly read. In the end, hauing throwne away their candles (which lay ſmoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this ſentence be extinct, and ſtincke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce ſaid: *As God me helpe, I Will, as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King crowned, and annointed, inuiolably obſerue all theſe things.* And therewithall the Bels rung out, and all the people ſhouted with ioy. 1253. *Anno.* *Reg.* 37 *Vide* Apprend.

Neuer were lawes amongſt men (except thoſe holy commandements from the mount) eſtabliſhed with more Maieſtie of Ceremony, to make them reuerend, and reſpected then were theſe: they wanted but thunder and lightning from heauen (which if prayers could haue procured, they would likewiſe haue had) to make the ſentence gaſtly, and hydeous to the infringers thereof. The greateſt ſecuritie that could be giuen was an oath (the onely chaine on earth, beſides loue, to tye the conſcience of man, and humaine ſociety together) which, ſhould it not hold vs, all the frame of gouernment and order muſt needs fall quite a ſunder.

Now the buſineſſe of *Gaſcoigne* (that required preſent care) is in hand, which the better to know, we muſt returne to the head whence it ſprung. 27. yeeres paſt, the King, by the councell of his Lords, freely granted to his brother *Richard* all that Prouince, who is there receiued as their Lord with their oathes of Fealty made vnto him; and ſo continues, vntill the King (hauing iſſue of his owne, by motion of the Queene) reuokes his gift, and confers it vpon the eldeſt ſonne *Edward*. *Richard*, though he were depriued of the poſſeſsion would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings laſt being in *Gaſcoigny*, many of them ſtand doubtfull whom to attend; the King in great diſpleaſure commanded his brother to reſigne his Charter, and renounce his right; which, he refuſing to doe, the King commands thoſe of *Burdeaux* to take, and impriſon him: but they) in regard of his high blood, the homage they had made him, and the Kings mutability, who might reſent his own commandement) would not aduenture there on. Then he aſſayles them with money which effected more then his commandement: the Earle is in danger to be ſurpriſed, eſcapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes ouer into *England*. The King reſumes *Gaſcoigne* from his brother *Richard*, giues it to his ſonne Prince *Edward*.

The King aſſembles the Nobilitie of *Gaſconie* at *Burdeaux*; invaighes againſt his brother: *A man, hee ſaid was couetous, and a great oppreſſour, a large promiſer, but a ſpare payer; and that hee would prouide them of a better gouernour*: with all, promiſes them thirtie thouſand Markes (as a price of their obedience) and ſo nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes their of Fealty to himſelfe. Which yet they would not make vnto him, till he had inwrapt himſelfe both by his Charter and Oath for this promiſed ſumme: whereunto they ſo held him, as thereby, afterward they loſt his loue. And to be reuenged on them, he ſends *Simon Monford* Earle of *Leiceſter*, a rough and Martiall man to Maſter their pride: makes him a Charter *Simon Monford* Earle of *Leiceſter* ſent into *Gaſcony*.

a Charter for 6. yeeres to come, and furniſhes him with 10000. markes the better to effect his command. *Monfort* by his ſterne gouernment ſo diſcontents the *Gaiſcoins*, as after three yeeres ſuffering, they ſend the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux* with other great men, to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuſe him of hainous crimes: their greeuances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Monfort* is ſent for ouer, to anſwere for himſelfe, the Earle of *Cornewall* for his receiued wrong in thoſe parts, and, the Lords of *England* for their loue to him, take *Monforts* part; and that ſo eagerly, as the King comes about to fauour and countenance the *Gaſcoins* againſt *Monfort*; not for his loue to them, but to awe, and abate the other. Whereupon *Monfort* enters into vndutifull conteſtation with the King, vpbraides him with his expenceſull ſeruice: wherein he ſayes, he had vtterly conſumed his Eſtate: and how the King had broken his word with him: and requires him either to make it good, according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promiſe was to bee obſerued with an vnworthy traitor: Wherewith *Monfort* riſes vp proteſting that he lyed in that word, and were hee not protected by his Royall dignity, hee would make him repent it. The King commands his ſeruants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* thereupon grew more audacious, ſaying, who will beleeue you are a Chriſtian? were you euer confeſſed? if you were, it was without repentance, and ſatisfaction. The King told him he neuer repented him of any thing ſo much, as to haue permitted him to enter into his Kingdome, and to haue honoured, and inſtated him, as he had done.

Manforts conteſtation with the K.

The *Gaſcoigns*, after this, are priuately ſent for by the King, who giues them all comfort, and incourages them againſt *Monfort*, whom yet he would againe ſend ouer to his charge, but with clipt wings, whereby both himſelfe and they might the better be reuenged on him, and withal confirmes the ſtate of *Gaſcoigne* to his ſonne *Edward* whom he promiſed them ſhortly to ſend ouer, wherwith they are much pleaſed, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confuſed, and ill-packt buſineſſe was ſuch, as all indirect courſes produce. *Monfort* returnes in flames to plague the *Gaſcoignes*, and they in like mannner him, but he by his great aliance in *France*, drawes together ſuch a power, as beyoud expectation, hee ouer-matches the *Gaſcoignes*, whoſe eſtates hee expoſes to ſpoyle, and therewithall intertaines great collected army. They againe ſend ouer their complaints, and vnleſſe they were ſpeedily relieued, they of force muſt put their country into ſome other hand that would protect them.

Monfort returned to his charge.

And in this ſtate good *Gaſcoigne* now at the time of this laſt Parliament, whither the King, vpon this late ſupply granted (omitting his Eaſterne enterpriſe) goes with 300. Saile of great ſhips and lands at *Burdeux* in *Auguſt*, *Anno Reg.* 38. hauing firſt depoſed *Simon M.* from the gouernment there, and makes voyde this Charter by Proclamation. *Monfort* retyres from thence, and is offered intertainment by the *French*, but refuſes it. Before Winter the King had in ſome ſort appeaſed the *Gaſcoignes*, and taken in ſuch Caſtles, as had long held out againſt him, and the late Gouernour. For they hauing put themſelues vnder the protection of the King of *Spaine*; who being ſo neere a neighbour, and the diſcontents and factions of the Countrey ſtrong, cauſed the King of *England* with more haſt, and care to looke to his worke, and the rather for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might be the more ſecure, he ſends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward*, and his Siſter *Elinor*, whereunto the King of *Spaine* willingly conſents.

The K. goes ouer into *Gaſc.* with 300. great ſhips.

Aliance with the King of *Spaine*.

1254. *Anno.* *Reg.* 38

The King of *England* keeps his Chriſtmas at *Burdeux*. The Queen ſends him a New-yeeres-gift of 500. markes, and the next Sommer, with the Prince, goes ouer vnto him. The marriage is ſolemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince and by his Charter quits his claime to *Aquitaine*, for him, and his ſucceſſors for euer. The King of *England* mueſtes the Prince, and his Wife therein, and beſides giues vnto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Briſtow*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. This buſineſſe diſpatched, the king prepares to returne, hauing conſumed all whatſoeuer hee could get in this iourney which, with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to haue coſt him 27. hundred

Prince *Ed.* marries *Elionor* ſiſter to the King of *Spaine*.

hundred thouſand pounds, and was ſaid to bee more then all the Lands hee had there (ſhould they be ſold) were worth, which, when he was told, he willed it might not bee reuealed in publike to his diſgrace.

Now in regard of danger by ſea hee obtaines leaue of the King of *France* (lately returned from Captiuity) to paſſe through his Country, and comes to *Paris* with a 1000 horſe, beſides Sumpters, and Carts, where he ſtayes 8. daies, is ſumptuouſly feaſted, and with as great magnificence feaſts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queens Siſters, and their other two Siſters the Counteſſe of *Cornwall*, & *Prouince* (who were likewiſe afterward, Queenes) was made the more triumphant, and ſplendidous. The King about *Chriſtmas* ariues in *England*, and the firſt that payde for his comming home, were the *Londoners*, and the *Iewes*. The *Londoners* preſenting him with 100. pounds were returned without thanks: then being perſwaded that plate would bee better welcome, they beſtow 200. pounds in a faire veſſell: that had ſome thanks, but yet ſerued not the turne. An offence is found, about the eſcaping of a priſoner for which they pay 3000 Markes. Now complaines he of his debts, which he ſayes to be 300. thouſand Marks, and how his owne meanes was diminiſhed by the preferment of the Prince, who carryed away 15. thouſand Marks *per annum*, and mony muſt be had howſoeuer. Firſt, he begins to ſerue his preſent turne with loanes, and borrowes great ſums of the Earle of *Cornwall*, vpon pawne, and after the King had wrung what he could from the *Iewes*, he lets them out to farme to this rich Earle to make the beſt of them.

King *Henry* comes to *Paris* with 1000. horſe, is feaſted by the K. of *France*.

He returnes into *England*, fines the Londoners.

Then a Parliament is called in Eaſter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returnes of grieuances, and complaint of breach of Charter, which requiring their former pretended rights in electing the Iuſticiar, Chancellor and Treaſurer. After much debate to no purpoſe, the Parliament is prorogued til *Michelmas* after, when likewiſe the Kings motion for money is diſappointed, by reaſon of the abſence of many Peeres being not, as was alledged, ſummoned according to the Tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occaſions of charge, and diſlike ariſe. *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*, the Queenes brother, hath warres with the City of *Thuren*, and muſt bee ſupplyed by the King, and Queene, and his brother *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The elect Biſhop of *Toledo* brother to the King of *Spaine* with other great men, come ouer, lie at the Kings charge, and are preſented with great gifts. Shortly after, *Elsonor* the Princes wife ariues with a multitude of Spaniards, and ſhe muſt be met, and receiued by the *Londoners* in ſumptuous manner; and her people after many feaſting returned home with preſents. The Pope ſends the Biſhop of *Boronia* with a Ring of inueſtiture, to *Edmond* the ſeconds ſonne for the Kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which Kingdome his Predeceſſor *Innocent* the 4. had before deluded the King himſelfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Ruſtandus* with powre to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the vſe of the Pope and the King, and to abſolue him from his Oath for the Holy Warre: ſo that hee would come to deſtroy *Manfred* ſonne to the Emperor *Frederick*, now in poſſeſsion of the Kingdome of *Sicile* and *Apulia*. And this man likewiſe hath great gifts beſtowed on him, beſides a rich Prebend in *Yorke*: but yet he obtained not, what he came for, of the Clergy, who proteſted rather to looſe their liues and liuings, then to yeeld either to the will of the Pope or the King, who they ſaid, *were as the Sheapheard, and the Wolfe combined to macerate the flocke*.

1257. *Anno.* *Reg.* 41

16 Parliament adiourned.

Pope *Alexander*. 4.

Edmond the kings ſecond ſonne is promiſed the kingdome of *Sicile*.

The Pope ſent likewiſe to borow of the Earle of *Cornwal* 500. Marks, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the Kingdome of *Sicile*, but the Earle refuſed it, ſaying, *hee would not lend his mony to one on whom he could not diſtraine*. So this proiect came to nothing, though all meanes were vſed to draw it on. Newes was ſpred that *Manfreds* forces were vtterly defeated, and himſelfe either ſlaine or taken priſoner: wherewith the King is ſo much ioyed as he preſently vowes with all ſpeed to make an expedition thither, and giues his ſonne *Edmond* no other title but King of *Sicile*. This vaine hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations, of a hundred and fifty thouſand Markes. But ſhortly after this newes prooues falſe, and the contrary is notified. *Manfred* is victorious, and the Popes powre defeated by thoſe of *Apulia*, who tooke ſuch indignation that the Pope ſhould giue away their Country

(without their conſent) to an vnknowne Stranger, as with all their maine powre they ioyne to eſtabliſh *Manfred*, who is now found to be the legitimate ſonne of *Frederick*, and confirmed in his right, which a ſtrong ſword will make howſoeuer.

The complaint of the Merchants of *Gaſcoigne*. An ill Office of Officers.

The King keepes his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where the Merchants of *Gaſcoigne* hauing their wines taken from them, by the Kings Officers, without due ſatisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and ſhew him, *How they were better to trade with* Sarazins *and* Infidels, *then thus to be vſed here, as they were.* The Prince addreſſes him to his father, and craues redreſſe herein, but the Officers hauing been with the K. before to preuent the clamors of the *Gaſcoignes*, and telling him, *how they falſely exclayme, relying wholly vpon the Princes fauor, who tooke vpon him their vniuſt cauſe (and that there ought to be but one in* England, *to whom the ordering of Iuſtice appertained)* put him into ſo great a rage with the Prince, as he breakes out into theſe words. *See now my blood, and mine owne bowels impugne me, behold my ſon, as my brother hath done, is bent to afflict me, the times of my grandfather* Henry *the ſecond, are againe renued, what will become of vs?* but this paſsion being allayed by Councell, he diſſembles the matter, and giues order that theſe iniuries ſhould be redreſſed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying his traine rode with 200. horſe, So eaſily are iealoſies, by euill Miniſters infuſed into Kings, who are of themſelues too apprehenſiue in that kinde, beeing a thing that ſoone turnes the blood.

Inſolencies committed by the Princes ſeruants.

And now to adde to the miſery of theſe times, there are new miſchiefes committed by the inſolence of the Seruants of the Prince, who beeing himſelfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent ſpirits, many ſtrangers, and men without meanes, who, whereſoeuer he went, made ſpoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatſoeuer they could faſten on, to the extreame vexation of the ſubiect. And they report how this Prince meeting a young man trauailing on the way, cauſed one of his eares to bee cut off, and one of his eyes put out: which foule act, made many to ſuſpect his diſpoſition, and what he would prooue hereafter. And indeed, had he not beene indued with an innated Nobleneſſe of Nature (which, with his long experience in trauaile and great actions ouercame the Vices, the looſeneſſe of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might haue prooued as bad as any other. For vnleſſe Princes of themſelues, by inſtinction from aboue be indued with a naturall goodnes, they ſhall gaine little by their education, wherein they are rather ſhewed what they are, then what they ſhould be: and are apter to learne to know their greatneſſe, then themſelues: being euer ſoothed in all whatſoeuer they doe.

Theſe youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous trayne (which are ſaid to be more rauenous then thoſe which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welſh* (of whom he had now the gouernment) into open act of rebellion, and to make ſpoyle of the *Engliſh*, as his did of them: whereupon he craues meanes of his father, the Queene, and his Vncle *Richard* to ſuppreſſe them. But all was vented already, the Kings treaſure was gone ouer the Alpes, Earle *Richard* had lent more then he could get in, and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had ſpent that of the Queenes.

The King is ſtill at his ſhifts to ſupply his euerlaſting neceſsities. Now hee comes himſelfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voyce pronounced, *That euery Shrieſe, which appeared not yearely in the Octaues of S.* Michel, *with his money, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues: for the firſt day ſhould be amerced fiue Marks, for the ſecond, tenne, for the third fifteene, for the fourth, to be redeemed at the Kings pleaſure. In like ſort, that all Cities and Freedomes which anſwer by their Bayliffes, vpon the ſame defaults ſhould be amerced, & the fourth day to looſe their freedoms. Beſides euery Shrieſe, throughout* England *is amerced in fiue Markes for that they did not diſtraine within their Countries vpon whomſoeuer held* 10. *pound land* per annum, *and came not to be made knight, or freed by the King.* Then fals he to the examination of meaſures for Wine & Ale, for Buſhels and weights, which likewiſe brought in ſome ſmall thing, and euery yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and gets ſome thing of them.

But now there fell out a buſineſſe that entertayned ſome time, and gaue occaſion to amaze the world with conceipts of ſome great aduantage and honor to the Kingd. by the

the Election of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, to bee King of *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, and by them is he sent for to receiue that Crowne: the matter is here debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence, necessary to sway businesses in the Kingdome, were vnwilling, & diswade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry* the *Lantgraue* of *Turing*, and *William* Earle of *Holland*: but others, and especially the King (who was willing to be rid of him, as one he had often found too great for a subiect: and being a King abroad hee might make vse of him) perswades it to take it vpon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

The Earle of *Cornwall* Elected King of the Romans.

But the *Germaine* Writers (who are best witnesses of their owne affaires) declare how after the murther of the Earle of *Holland*, the Electors were diuided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to vphold their auncient Custome in Electing one of their owne Country, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declyning State; which was more politike. Long were the conflicts of their Councells: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselues, some would haue *Richard*, brother to the King of *England*, others *Alphonsus* King of *Spaine*, both of them not onely contending who should haue it, but who should giue most to buy it: in the end *Richard* beeing neerest at hand, and his mony the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Metz*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palsgraue*, whose voyces he is said to haue bought, and afterward is crowned at *Aquisgraue*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, hee proceedes in all violent, and hostile manner (according as was set on) against those who opposed his Election, and hauing consumed himselfe both by his excessiue gifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to returne into *England* to his brother *Henry*, then in war with his Nobles. Thus they deliuer it.

Richard crowned at *Aquisgraue*.

But before the Earle departed out of *England*, the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and Sir *Iohn Mansel*, were sent into *Germany* to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well perswaded of the businesse, and shortly after the Archbishop of *Cologne* comes to conduct him ouer, on whom, the Earle bestowes 500. Markes towards his charges, and a rich Miter set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of *Cornwall* is reported able to dispend 100. Markes a day for ten yeares, besides his reuenues in *England*.

The French, and especially the King of Spaine are much displeased with this aduancement, complaining to the Pope and the King of *England* of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornwall*. *Spaine* pretending to haue beene first elected, but being, it seemes a Philosopher, and studious in the Mathematikes (which he first reuiued in *Europe*) hee was drawing Lines, when he should haue drawne out his purse, and so came preuented of his hopes.

1257. *Anno.* *Reg.* 41 15. Parliament

About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* (in the iollity of the Kingdome vpon this new promotion, & to set forward another) the King cals a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond*, clad in an *Apulian* habit) he vses these words: *Behold my good Subiects, here my sonne* Edmond *whom God of his grace hath called to the dignity of regall excellency, how fitting and worthy is he the fauor of you all, and how inhumane, and tyranous were he who (in so important a neeeſſity) would deny him Counsell, & ayde?* And then shewes them, how by the aduice and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for attaining the Kingdome of *Sicile* bound himselfe, vnder Couenant of loosing his Kingdome of *England*, in the summe of 140. thousand Markes. Moreouer how he had obtained the Tenth of the Clergy, for 3. yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the new rate, without deduction of expences vnlesse very necessary: besides their first fruits likewise for 3. yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergy, may be iudged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding, after they had made their pitifull excuses, in regard of their pouerty, they promised vpon the vsuall condition of *Magna Charta*, &c. so often sworne, bought and redeemed, to giue him 52. thousand Markes, but this satisfied him not.

52. thousand Markes, vpon conditions promised by the Clergy.

1258. *Anno. Re.* 42

The next yeare after is another Parliament at *London*, wherein, vpon the Kings preſſing them againe, for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: *they will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if vnaduiſedly, he without their conſents, and councell bought the Kingdome of* Sicile, *and had beene deceiued, he ſhould impute it to his own imbecillity, & bin inſtructed by the example of his prouident brother, who, when the ſame kingdome was offered vnto him by Albert the Popes Agent, abſolutely refuſed it, in regard it lay ſo far off; So many Nations betweene: the cauils of the Popes: the infidelity of the people: and the power of the pretender, &c.* Then repeate they their owne grieuances, *the breach of his promiſes, contemning both the keyes of the Church, and the Charter he had ſolemnly ſworne to obſerue: the inſolence of his brethren, and other Strangers, againſt whom, by his order, no Writ was to paſſe out of the Chancery, for any cauſe whatſoeuer: How their pride was intollerable, eſpecially that of* William de Valence, *who, moſt reproachfully had giuen the lie to the Earle of* Leiceſter, *for which he could not be righted vpon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himſelfe was ſo poore, as he could not repreſſe the ſmall forces of the* Welſh *that waſted his Country, but going the laſt yeare againſt them, and effecting nothing, returned with diſhonour.* The King hearing this (as he was apt vpon rebukes ſoundly vrged to be ſenſible, and his owne neceſſities conſtraining him thereunto) humbles himſelfe, and tels them: *how he had often by ill councell beene ſeduced, and promiſes by his oath, which he takes on the tombe of Saint* Edward, *to reforme all theſe errors.* But the Lords not knowing how to hold their euer-changing *Proteus* (ſaith *Paris*) in regard the buſineſſe was difficult, get the Parliament to be adiourned till Saint *Barnabas* day, and then to aſſemble at *Oxford*. In the meane time the Earles *Gloceſter, Leiceſter, Hereford*, the Earle Marſhall *Bigod, Spencer* and other great men confederate, and prouide by ſtrength to effect their deſires. Whilſt the King put to his ſhifts to obtaine money, gets the Abbot of Weſtminiſter, vpon promiſe of high preferment to put his Seale and that of his Couent to a deed obligatory, as a ſurety for three hundred Markes, that by his example hee might draw on others to doe the like. Sending his truſty Counſaylors, and Clerke *Simon Paſſeleue* abroade with his Letters, and this Deede vnto other Monaſteryes. But *Paſſeleue*, notwithſtanding all the diligence and skill he could vſe, by threates or otherwiſe: telling them, *how all they had came from the benignity of Kings, and how their Soueraigne was Lord of all they had*, they flattely refuſe to yeelde to any ſuch Deede. *Saying, they acknowledged the King to bee Lord of all they had, but ſo, as to defend, not to deſtroy the ſame.* And thus he comes likewiſe diſappoynted in this proiect.

Prince *Edward* morgages *Stamford* and other townes to *William de Valence.*

The Prince, who likewiſe muſt participate in the wants of his father, was driuen to morgage the Towne of *Stamford, Braham* and many other things, to *William de Valence*, who out of his ſtore, ſupplyed him with money, which after turned to the good of neither, for it layde a recentement on the neceſſity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and Enuy on the other whoſe ſuperfluity made him odious.

The Barons expoſtulate for their former liberties.

But now comes aſſembled the Parliament at *Oxford*, and in a hot ſeaſon (the worſt time for conſultation) and here burſt out that great impoſtume of diſcontent ſo long in gathering. The trayne which the Lords brought with them, was pretended to bee for ſome exploit againſt the *Welſh*, vpon the end of the Parliament: and their ſecuring the ports, to preuent forrainers, but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of *London*, and their Oathes and Hands giuen to each other, ſhewed that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they begin with the expoſtulation of the former Liberties, and require the obſeruation thereof according vnto the Oathes, and Orders formerly made. The Chiefe Iuſticiar, Chancellor, and Treaſurer to be ordained by publike choice: The 24. Conſeruators, of the Kingdome to be confirmed, 12. by the Election of the Lords, and 12. by the King, with whatſoeuer elſe made for their owne imagined ſecurity. The King ſeeing their ſtrength, and in what manner they required theſe things, ſweares againe ſolemnly to the confirmation of them, and cauſes the Prince to take the ſame Oath.

But the Lords left not here, the Kings brethren, the *Poictouines* and other Strangers muſt

muſt be preſently remooued, and the Kingdome cleered of them, and this they would haue all the Peeres of the Land ſworne to ſee done. Heere they found ſome oppoſition in the Prince, the Earle *Warrein*, and *Henry* eldeſt ſonne to *Richard* now King of Romans, the laſt refuſing to take his Oath without leaue of his father, they plainely told him, *That if his father would not conſent with the Baronage in this caſe, he ſhould not hold a Furrow of Land in England.* In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are diſpoyled of all their fortunes, and exiled by preſcription vnder the Kings owne hand directed to the Earles of *Hereford*, and *Surrey*, *with charge not to paſſe either their Mony, Armes, or Ornaments but in ſuch ſort as the Lords appointed*: and after their departure, he enioyneth the City of *Briſtow*, and other Ports not to permit any ſtrangers or kinſmen of his to ariue, vnleſſe they did ſo behaue themſelues, as both he and the Lords ſhould like.

Cron. Lichfield, Henry eldeſt ſonne to the King of Romans refuſeth to take his Oathe. *Claus* 49. *Hen.* 3.

The *Poictouines* retyring to *Bolongne* in *France* ſend to King *Lonys* to craue ſafe paſſage through his Country into *Poiction*, which (in regard the Queene of *France* had bin informed how they had defamed her Siſter of *England*) was, by her meanes denyed at that time, and *Henry* ſonne to the Earle of *Leiceſter* (whoſe eſtimation was great in *France*) followes them with all eagerneſſe thither, to incenſe the French againſt them. And as they whom Enuy tumbles downe from high places, ſhall be ſure euer to haue all the thruſts poſsible to ſet them headlong into diſgrace with the world; ſo now the death, and ſickneſſe of diuers great men and others hapning in *England* ſoone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poiſons ſuppoſed to haue been prepared by thoſe Gentlemen. The Earle of *Gloceſter* in a ſickneſſe ſodainly loſt his haire, his teeth, his naiies; And his brother hardly eſcaped death, which made many to ſuſpect their neereſt ſeruãts and their Cooks *Walter Scoiny* the Earles Steward being one, is ſtrictly examined, committed to priſon, and after, without confeſsion executed vpon preſumptions at *Wincheſter*. *Elias* a conuerted Iew, is ſaid to haue cõfeſſed, that in his houſe the poiſon was confected, but it was when he was a Deuill, not a Chriſtian. Any thing in the proſecution of malice ſerues the turne. Euery man that had receiued any wrong by thoſe great men, now put vp their complaints, and are heard, to the agrauation of their inſolence and iniuſtice. *Guido de Rochfort* a *Poictouin*, to whom the King had giuen the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, is baniſhed, and all his goods confiſcat. *William Buſſey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Towre of *London*, and moſt reprochfully vſed, as an eſpeciall miniſter of his Maſtets inſolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captain of the Caſtle of *Douer*, is ſet to intercept whatſoeuer the *Poictouines* conueied that way out of *England*, and much treaſure of theirs, and the elect of *Wincheſters* is by him there taken: beſides great ſums committed to the new Temple, are found out, and ſeized into the Kings hands. And, as vſually in ſuch heats, much wrong is committed in theſe proſecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-gouerned people think they are not forgotten) the new chiefe Iuſticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Marſhall (choſen this laſt Parliament by publike voyce) procures that 4. knights in euery ſhire ſhould inquire of the oppreſsions of the poore done by great men, and vnder their hands and Seales certifie the ſame, by a certaine day, to the Baronage, that redreſſe might be made. Moreouer order was taken that *from thenceforth, no man ſhould giue any thing (beſides prouiſions) for iuſtice, or to hinder the ſame, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grieuouſly puniſhed.* Notwithſtanding this pretended care of the publike it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords inforced the ſeruices of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were *totidem tyranni*: how they furniſhed the eſpeciall fortreſſes of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, ſworne to the Common ſtate, and took the like aſſurance of all Shirifs, Baylifes, Coroners, and other publike miniſters, ſearching the behauiour of many ſtrict commiſſioners vpon Oath. And to make their cauſe the more popular, it was rumored that the *kings neceſſity muſt be repaired out of the Eſtates of his people, and how hee muſt not want whilſt they had it*, wherupon the King ſends forth proclamation: *How certen malicious perſons had falſly and ſeditiouſly reported, that he ment vnlawfully to charge his Subiects, & ſubuert the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and by theſe ſubtle ſuggeſtions, altogether falſe, auerted the*

Mat. Par.

Regiſt. in Scacc. William Riſhangar.

hearts of his people from him; and therefore desires them, not to giue credit to such perturbers, for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due vnto them, and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his letters to be made Patents.

1252 *Anno.* *Reg.* 42

But now *Monfort*, *Gloceſter* and *Spencer*, who had by the late inſtitution of the 24. Conſeruators, drawne the intire managing of the Kingdome into their hands, inforce the King to call the Parliament at *London* where the Authority of the 24. is deliuered vnto themſelues, and order taken that three at the leaſt, ſhould attend in the Court, to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of Caſtles, and other buſineſſes of the Kingdome, of the Chancellor, Chiefe Iuſticiar, and Treaſurer, and of all Officers great and ſmall. And here they binde the King to looſe to them their Legale obedience whenſoeuer he infringed his Charter.

15. Parliament at London. *Ordinat. inter Record Curi. Lond. Liceat omnibus de Regno noſtro contra nos inſurgere, & ad grauamen noſtrum opem & operam dare ac ſi nobisin nullo tenerentur Chart. Orig. ſub Sigillo.*

In this State ſtood the Kingdome, when intelligence was giuen to the Lords that *Richard* King of *Romans* had a purpoſe to come ouer into *England*, which made them greatly to ſuſpect (being ignorant of the occaſion) leaſt he were ſent for by the King to come with power to ſubuert them, by the example of King *Iohn*. Whereupon they ſend to know the cauſe of his comming, & to require of him an Oath before he ſhould land, not to preiudice the now eſtabliſhed orders of the Kingdome: which he ſternely refuſes to doe, ſaying: *He had no Peere in* England *being the ſonne and brother of a King, and was aboue their power: and if they would haue reformed the Kingdome, they ought firſt to haue ſent for him, and not ſo preſumptuouſly attempted a buſineſſe of ſo high a Nature.* The Lords vpon returne of this anſwer ſend preſently to gard the Ports, and come ſtrongly to the Coaſt, prepared to incounter him if occaſion were offered. But finding his traine ſmall, accompanyed onely with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, vpon his promiſe to take their propounded oath receiue him to Land; but would neither permit the King (who came likewiſe thither to meete him) nor himſelfe to enter into *Douer* Caſtle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter houſe, where the Earle of *Gloceſter* ſtanding forth in the middeſt, cals out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, who in reuerent manner comming forth, takes his Oath miniſtred in this manner.

The Lords require an oath of him.

The Oath of the King of *Romans*.

Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornewall doe here ſweare vpon the Holy Euangeliſts that I ſhall bee faithfull, and diligent to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, *hitherto by the Councell of wicked perſons ouermuch diſordered, bee an effectuall coadiutor to expell the rebels and diſturbers of the ſame, and this Oath will inuiolably obſerue vnder payne of looſing all the Land I haue in* England: *ſo helpe mee God.*

In this manner deale the Lords to bind this great Earle vnto them, ſuppoſing his power to haue beene more then it was, which at length they found to bee nothing but an ayrie Title, for hauing conſumed all that mighty ſubſtance abroad, in two yeares (which with great frugality, had beene many in gathering) he returnes in this manner home, poore and forſaken by the *Germans*, without any other meanes to truſt vnto, but onely what he had in *England*.

1259. *Anno.* *Re.* 44

Notwithſtanding vpon his returne the King takes heart, and ſeekes all meanes to vindicate his power, diſpatching firſt meſſengers ſecretly to *Rome*, to bee abſolued from his inforced Oath, then ſends into *Scotland* to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to be ready vpon his occaſions. And to haue the more aſſurance of the King of *France*, and bee freede from forraine buſineſſe, hee makes an abſolute reſignation, of whatſoeuer right hee had to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earledomes of *Anion*, *Poictou*, *Tourene*, and *Maine*, in regard whereof the King of *France* giues him three hundred thouſand pounds (ſome ſay crownes) of *Anionine* money, and grants him to enioy all *Guien* beyond the riuer *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xantonge* to the riuer of *Charente*, the Countries of *Limoſin*, and *Quercy* for him and his ſucceſſors doing their Homage, and Fealty to the Crowne of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitayne*, and a Peere of that Kingdome.

1261. *Anno* *Reg.* 45

He reſignes *Normandy*, &c.

The Lords likewiſe on the other ſide ſeeke to ſtrengthen their aſſociation, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and obſeruations of their orders, which was hard to do:

for

for conſiſting of manifold diſpoſitions, there was daily wauering, ſometimes Pikes amongſt themſelues, in ſo much as the Earle of *Leiceſter* (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of *Gloceſter* finding him ſtaggering, *that he cared not to liue with ſuch men, whom he found ſo mutable and vncertaine, for ſaid he, my Lord of* Gloceſter, *as you are more eminent, ſo are you more bound to what you haue vndertaken for the good of the Kingdome.* And as he incenced others, ſo had he thoſe that animated him, as *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincolne* who inioyned him vpon remiſsion of his ſinnes to proſecute the cauſe vnto death, affirming *how the peace of the Church of* England *could neuer be eſtabliſhed but by the materiall ſword.*

The Lords combine againſt the K.

W. Riſhanger.

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their ſide, eſpecially after the ſentence giuen againſt them by the King of *France*, made Arbiter of the quarrell, who yet though he condemned the prouiſions of *Oxford*, allowed the confirmation of King *Iohns* Charter: by which diſtinction he left the matter as he found it: for thoſe prouiſions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded vpon that Charter. Howſoeuer his ſentence much aduantaged the King of *England*, and made many to diſpence with their Oath, and leaue their party. Amongſt whom was *Henry* ſonne to the Earle of *Cornwall* (on whom the Prince had beſtowed the Honour of *Tyckhill*) who comming to the Earle of *Leiceſter* told him, he would not be againſt his Father, the King, nor his allyes: but ſaid hee, my Lord, I will neuer beare armes againſt you; and therefore I craue leaue to depart. The Earle cheerefully replies: my Lord *Henry*, I am not *ſorry for your departure, but for your inconſtancie, goe, returne with your armes, I feare them not at all.* About the ſame time *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leiborn*, *Hamo l' Strange*, and many other (wonne with gifts) depart from the Barons.

1262. *Anno.* *Re.* 46

Shortly after *Roger de Mortimer* of the Kings part breakes into open act of hoſtility, makes ſpoyle of the lands of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who had now combined himſelfe with *Lewellin* Prince of *Walles*, and had ſent forces to inuade the lands of *Mortimer* in thoſe parts. And here the ſword is firſt drawne in this quarrell, about 3. yeeres after the Parliament at *Oxford*. The Prince takes part with *Mortimer*, ſurpriſes the Caſtle of *Brecknocke*; with other places of ſtrength, which hee deliuers to his cuſtody. The Earle of *Leiceſter* recouers the towne and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, conſtraines the Citizens to pay a thouſand pounds for their redemption, goes with an army to *Worceſter*, poſſeſſes him of the Caſtle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and ſo comes about to the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubdues the ſame, and growes very powerfull.

1263. *Anno.* *Re.* 47.

The beginning of the warres.

The King, doubting his approch to *London* (being not yet ready for him) workes ſo as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed, vpon theſe conditions: *that all the Caſtles of the King ſhould be deliuered to the keeping of the Barons: the Prouiſions of* Oxford, *ſhould be inuiolably obſerued: All ſtrangers by a certaine time ſhould auoyde the Kingdome, except ſuch as by a generall conſent, ſhould be held faithfull, and profitable for the ſame.* Here was a little pauſe, which ſeemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified *Windſor* Caſtle, victualed, and therein placed ſtrangers to defend it, and himſelfe marches to the towne of *Briſtow*, where in a contention betweene the Citizens, and his people being put to the worſe, he ſends for the Biſhop of *Worceſter* (an eſpeciall partaker of the Barons) to protect, and conduct him backe. When he comes neere *Windſor*, he gets into the Caſtle, which the Earle of *Leiceſter* comes to beſiege, and being about *Kingſtone*, the Prince meets him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuſes, and layes Siege to the Caſtle, that was rendred vnto him, the ſtrangers turned out, and ſent home into *France*.

1264. *Anno.* *Re.* 48.

16. Parliament.

The King to get time conuokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein he wonne many Lords to take his part, & with them (the Prince, *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, *Henry* his ſonne, *William Valence* with the reſt of his brethren lately returned) he marches to *Oxford*, whither diuers Lords of *Scotland* repaire to him: as *Iohn Comin*, *Iohn Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce* & others, with many Barons of the North, *Clifford*, *Percy*, *Baſſet*, *&c.* From *Oxford* with all his forces he marches to *Northamp.* where he tooke priſoners, *Simon Monfort* the yonger, with 14. other principall men, thence to *Nottingham* making ſpoile of ſuch poſſeſsions, as appertained to the Barons in thoſe parts.

17. Parliament held at *London*.

Scotiſh Lords come to ayde the King of *England*.

The

The Earle of *Leiceſter* in the meane time, drawes towards *London* to recouer and makes good that part, as of chiefeſt importance, and ſeekes to ſecure *Kent* and the Ports. Which haſts the King to ſtop his proceeding, and ſuccour the Caſtle of *Rocheſter* beſieged.

Succeſſe, and authoritie now growes ſtrong on this ſide, in ſo much as the Earles of *Leiceſter*, and *Gloceſter*, in behalfe of themſelues, and their party write to the king, humbly proteſting their loyalty, *and how they oppoſed onely againſt ſuch as were enemies to him and the Kingdome, and had belyed them.* The king returnes anſwer; *how themſelues were the perturbers of him and his ſtate: enemies to his perſon, and ſought his and the Kingdomes deſtruction, and therefore defies them.* The Prince, and the Earle of *Cornewall* ſend likewiſe their letters of defiance vnto them. The Barons notwithſtanding doubtfull of their ſtrength, or vnwilling to put it to the hazard of a Battaile, mediate a peace, and ſend the Biſhops of *London*, and *Worceſter* with an offer of 30. thouſand Markes to the King, for damages done in theſe warres, ſo that the ſtatutes of *Oxford* might be obſerued: which yeeldingneſſe, the other ſide ſuppoſing to argue their debility, made them the more neglectiue, and ſecurer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker ſide (more watchfull of aduantages) to haue the better.

The Barons mediate a peace.

The Earle, ſeeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (being a man skilfull in his worke) takes his time to be earlier ready then was expected, and ſupplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the ſide of a hill neere *Lewys*, where this battaile was fought, certaine enſignes without men, in ſuch ſort as they might ſeeme a farre off, to be ſquadrons of ſuckors to ſecond thoſe he brought to the incounter, whom he cauſed all to weare white-croſſes, both for their own notice, and the ſignification of his cauſe, which, he would haue to be for Iuſtice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornewall* and his Sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Hereford*, and all the *Scottiſh* Lords are his priſoners. The Earle *Warrein*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignian* the Kings brethren, with *Hugh Bigod*, Eare *Marſhall* ſaue themſelues by flight, fiue thouſand are ſlaine in this defeit, which yet was not all the blood, and deſtruction this buſineſſe coſt.

The Battaile of *Lewis*.

The King, Prince, and others taken priſoners.

All this yeere, and halfe of the other, is *Simon Monfort* in poſſeſsion of his priſoners: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles of the Kingdome. And now (as it vſually fals out in confederations where all muſt be pleaſed or elſe the knot will diſſolue) debate ariſes betweene the Earles of *Leiceſter*, and *Gloceſter*, about their diuidend, according to their agreement. *Leiceſter* (as fortune makes men to forget themſelues) is taxed *to doe more for his owne particular, then the common good: to take to himſelfe the benefit and diſpoſition of the Kings Caſtles: to vſurpe the redemption of priſoners at his pleaſure, to prolong the buſineſſe, and not to vſe the meanes of a Parliament to end it:* his ſonnes alſo preſuming vpon his greatneſſe grow inſolent, which made *Gloceſter* to forſake that ſide, and betake him to the Prince, who lately eſcaping out of the Caſtle of *Hereford* had gotten a power about him of ſuch as attended the opportunitie of turning fortune, and to reuenge the diſhonour of one Battaile by another.

1265. *Anno.* *Re.* 49

Monfort taxed of wrong.

The Earle of *Gloceſter* leaues him.

The reuolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of ſtrength are regained, both in *England* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leiceſter* to ſtop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (being now with his army about *Worceſter* imbattailes in a plaine neere *Eueſham*, to incounter him: and noting the manner of the approch of his army, ſaid to thoſe about him: *theſe men come brauely on, they learne it not of themſelues, but of mee. And ſeeing himſelfe likely to be beſet, and ouerlayd with numbers, adviſed his friends* Hugh Spencer, Ralph Baſſet, *and others to ſhift for themſelues*, which when he ſaw they refuſed to doe: then ſaid he, *let vs commit our ſoules to God, for our bodies are theirs*, and ſo vndertaking the maine waight of the Battaile, periſhed vnder it. And with him are ſlaine his ſonne *Henry*, eleuen other Barons with many thouſands of common ſouldiers. At the inſtant of his death, there hapned ſo terrible a thunder, lightning, and darkneſſe, as it gaue them, as much horror, as their hideous worke.

The Earle *Monfort* ſlaine

And ſo ends *Monfort* this great Earle of *Leiceſter*, too great for a ſubiect, which had

hee

hee not beene, he might haue beene numbred amongſt the worthieſt of his time. Howſoeuer, the people which honoured, and followed him in his life, would (vpon the fame of his miracles) haue worſhipped him for a Saint after his death, but it would not bee permitted by Kings.

And here this Battaile deliuers the Captiue King, (but yet with the loſſe of ſome of his owne as well as his ſubiects blood, by a wound caſually receiued therein) and ridde him of his Iaylor *Monfort*, whom he hated and long feared more then any man liuing, as himſelfe confeſſed vpon this accident: paſſing one day (ſhortly after the Parliament at *Oxford*) vpon Thames, there hapned a ſodaine clap of thunder, wherewith the King was much affrighted and willed preſently to be ſet on ſhore at the next landing, which was at *Dureſme* houſe, where *Monfort* then lay, who ſeeing the King ariuing haſts downe to meete him, and perceiuing him to be troubled at the ſtorme, ſaid, *that hee needed not now to feare, the danger was paſt. No,* Monfort, *ſaid the King, I feare thee, more then I doe all the Thunder and tempeſt of the World.* And now the King with the victorious Prince, the redeemer of him, and the Kingdome, repaires to *Wincheſter*, where a Parliament is conuoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monfort*, are diſinherited, and their eſtates conferred on others, at the Kings pleaſure. The *Londoners* haue their liberties taken from them, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, ſonnes of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, with the diſinherited Barons and others who eſcaped the Battaile of *Eueſham* take, and defend the Iſle of *Ely*. The Caſtle of *Killingworth* defended by the ſeruants of the late Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the Seige of halfe a yeere againſt the King and his Army: in the end their victuals fayling they yeeld *vpon condition to depart, their liues, members, and goods ſaued.* And it is worthy the note *that we finde no execution of blood, except in open Battaile, in all theſe combuſtions, or any noble man to dye on a Skaffold, either in this Kings raigne, or any other ſince* William *the firſt, which is now almoſt* 300. *yeeres.* Onely in *Ann.* 26. of this King, *William Mariſc*, the ſonne *of Geffrey Marſc* a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned of Piracie, and treaſon was hanged, beheaded, and quartered: and is the firſt example of that kinde of puniſhment we finde in our Hiſtories.

1266. *Anno.* *Reg.* 50

18 Parliament held at *Wincheſter*.

All who took part with *Monfort* diſinherited.

After the Parliament at *Wincheſter* the King goes with an army againſt the diſinherited Barons, aud their partakers, which were many reſolute, and deſperate perſons ſtrongly faſtned together. And being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, by mediation of friends, and promiſes of fauour came in and ſubmitted themſelues to the King, who, at the earneſt ſuite of the Earle of *Cornwall* their Vncle and the Lord *Philip Baſſet*, had reſtored them to their Eſtates, but for *Gloceſter*, and others who (doubting their ſpirits) wrought to hold them downe where their fortune had layd them. In ſo much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their fortunes other where, which they did, the yonger in Italy, the Elder in *France*: *where they were propagators of two great Families.* Their mother was baniſhed ſhortly after the battaile of *Eueſham*. *A Ladie of eminent note, the daughter and ſiſter to a King, nocent onely by her fortune, who from the Coronet of miſerable glory, betooke her to the vaile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at* Montarges *in* France.

Motions of peace made to the diſinherited Lords.

1267. *Anno.* *Reg.* 51.

Three yeares after this, the diſinherited Barons held out in thoſe faſtneſſes of the Kingdome where they could beſt defend themſelues, made many excurſions, and ſpoiles to the great charge and vexation of the King, at length motions, and conditions of render are propoſed, wherein the Councell are diuided. *Mortimer* now an eminent man in grace, with others ſtated in the poſſeſsions of the diſinherited, are auerres to any reſtoration, alledging it *a great act of iniuſtice, for them to be forced to forgo what the King had for their paines, & fidelitie beſtowed on them, and the others iuſtly forfeited, and therfore would hold what they had.* *Gloceſter* with the 12. ordained to deale for the peace of the ſtate, and other his friends which were many, ſtand mainely for reſtoration. This cauſed new pikes of diſpleaſure, in ſo much as *Gloceſter*, who, conceiuing his turning, not ſo to ſerue his turne, as he expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from the Court, refuſes to come to the Kings Feaſt on Saint *Edwards* day: ſends meſſengers to warne the King, *to remoue ſtrangers from his Councell, and obſerue the prouiſions of* Oxf.

The Earle of *Gloceſt.* revolt.

according

19. Parliamẽt.

according to his laſt promiſe made at Eueſham ; *otherwiſe that he ſhould not meruaile, if himſelfe did what he thought fit.* Thus had victorie no peace, the diſtemprature of the time was ſuch, as no ſword could cure it; recourſe is had to Parliament (the beſt way if any would ſerue, for remedy) and at *Bury* is the ſtate conuoked, where likewiſe all who held by Knights ſeruice are ſummoned to aſſemble, with ſufficient horſe and armour for the vanquiſhing of thoſe diſherited perſons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome held the Iſle of *Ely*.

Iohn de Warreine Earle of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are ſent to perſwade the Earle of *Gloceſter* (who had now leuied an army vpon the borders of *Wales*) to come, in faire manner to this Parliament, which he refuſes to do, but yet thus much the Earles had of him vnder his hand, and ſeale : *neuer to beare armes againſt the King, or his Sonne* Edward, *but to defend himſelfe, and purſue* Roger Mortimer, *and other his enemies,* for which he pretended to haue taken armes. The firſt demand in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat ; *for the grant of a Tenth of the Clergie for three yeeres to come, and for the yeere paſt, ſo much as they gaue the Barons for defending the Coaſts againſt the landing of ſtrangers.* Whereto they anſwer, *that the warre was begun by vniuſt deſires, which yet continues, and neceſſary it were to let paſſe ſo euill demands, and ſo treat of the peace of the Kingdome ; to conuert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort money, conſidering the land had beene ſo much deſtroyed by this warre, as it could hardly bee euer recouered.* 2. Then was it required, *that the Clergie might be taxed by lay men, according to the iuſt valew of what appertained vnto them.* They anſwer : *it was no reaſon, but againſt all Iuſtice, that Lay-men ſhould intermeddle in collecting Tenths, which they would neuer conſent vnto, but would haue the ancient taxation to ſtand.* 3. Then was it required, *they ſhould giue the Tenth of their Baronies and Lay Fee, according to the vtmoſt valew.* They anſwer : *themſelues were impouriſhed by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay vntild by reaſon of the warres.*

4. Then it was required, *that the Clergie ſhould in lieu of a Tenth, giue amongſt them* 30. *thouſand Markes to diſcharge the Kings debts contracted for* Sicilia, Calabria, *and* Apulia: They anſwer ; *they would giue nothing in regard all thoſe taxations, and extorſions formerly made by the King were neuer conuerted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome.* 5. All this being denied, demand is made, *that all Clergie men that held Baronies, or other Lay Fee ſhould perſonally ſerue in the Kings warres.* They anſwer, *they were not to fight with the materiall, but the ſpirituall ſword, &c. that their Baronies were giuen of meere almes, &c.* 6. Then was it required, *the whole Clergie ſhould diſcharge the* 9000. *pounds, which the Biſhops of* Rocheſter, Bath, *and the Abbot of* Weſtminſter *ſtood bound to the Popes Merchants for the Kings ſeruice at their being at the Court of* Rome. They anſwer : *they neuer conſented to any ſuch lone, and therefore were not bound to diſcharge it.* 7. Then the Legat, from the part of the Pope required, *that without delay predication ſhould be made throughout the kingdome to incite men to take the Croſſe for the Holy warre,* whereunto anſwer was made, *that the greateſt part of the people of the Land were already conſumed, by the ſword, and that if they ſhould vndertake this action, few or none would be leaft to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby ſhewed a deſire to extirpat the natiues thereof, and introduce ſtrangers.* 8. Laſtly, it was vrged, *that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to all the Kings demands by their Oath at Couentrie ; where they ſwore to ayde him by all meanes poſſible they could.* They anſwer, *that when they took that oath, they vnderſtood no other ayde, then ſpirituall, and holeſome councell,* So nothing was obtained but denials in this Parliament.

The Legat, likewiſe imploies ſollicitors to perſwade the diſherited *L L.* which held the Iſle of *Ely, to returne to the faith, and vnity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the forme prouided at Couentry, for redeeming their inheritances from ſuch as held them by gift from the King for 7. yeeres profits, and to leaue of their robberies.* The diſherited returne anſwer to the Legat. *Firſt, that they held the faith, they receiued from their Catholike Fathers, and their obedience to the Romane Church, as the head of al Chriſtianitie; but not to the auarice and wilfull exaction of thoſe who ought to gouerne the ſame. And how (their Predeceſſors whoſe heires they were, hauing conquered this land by the ſword) they held themſelues vniuſtly diſherited, that it was againſt the Popes Mandat, they ſhould be ſo dealt withal.*

That

That they had formerly taken their Oath to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelates thundring the ſentence of excommunication againſt ſuch as withſtood the ſame and according to that Oath they were prepared to ſpend their liues. And ſeeing they warred for the benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to ſuſtaine their liues by the goods of their Enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought to cauſe to be reſtored vnto them, that they might not be driuen to make depradation in that manner, which yet was not ſo great as was reported: for that many of the Kings & Princes followers made rodes, and committed great robberies which to make them odious, were imputed, and giuen out to be done by them, wherfore they wiſh the Legat to giue no credit to ſuch reports: for if they ſhould finde any ſuch amongſt them, they would themſelues doe Iuſtice vpon them without delay.

Beſides they declare to the Legat, *that he had irreuerendly elected out of the Kingdome the Biſhops of* Winchester, London *and* Chicheſter, *men circumſpect and of deepe iudgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdome was in great part weakned to the danger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the ſame: and that they might be reſtored to their Lands without redemption. That the prouiſions of* Oxford *might be obſerued. That they might haue Oſtages deliuered them into the Iſland to hold the ſame peaceably for fiue yeeres to come, vntill they might perceiue how the King would performe his promiſes.*

Thus they treat, not like men whom their fortunes had laide on the ground, but as they had beene ſtill ſtanding: ſo much wrought either the opinion of their cauſe, or the hope of their party. But this ſtubbornnes ſo exaſperates the King as the next yeere following, hee prepares a mighty Army, beſets the Iſle ſo that he ſhuts them vp, and Prince *Edward*, with bridges made on Boates enters the ſame in diuers places, and conſtraines them to yeeld. In the meane time the Earle of *Gloceſter*, with his army collected on the borders of *Wales* to ayde them, marched to *London* where, by the Citizens he was receiued: but the Legat who kept his reſidence in the Towre ſo preuailed with him, as hee againe renders himſelfe to the King to whom hee was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of *Romans*, and the Lord *Philip Baſſet* vpon forfeiture of twelue thouſand Markes, if euer after he ſhould raiſe any commotion.

The Earle of *Gloceſter* reconciled.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into *Wales*, againſt *Lewellin*, for ayding *Simon Monfort* and the Earle of *Gloceſter*, in their late attempts againſt him, but his wrath being by the gift of 32. thouſand pounds ſterling, appeaſed, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of warre, beene taken from him, reſtored.

And here was an end of the firſt Baron. Warres of England, *wherein we ſee what effects it wrought, how no ſide got but miſery and vexation, whilſt the one ſtruggled to doe more then it ſhould, and the other to doe leſſe then it ought, they both had the worſt, according to the vſuall euents of ſuch imbroylements.*

1269. *Anno.* *Reg.* 53

The next yeere after this appeaſement, the Legat *Ottobon* ſignes with the Croiſſado both the Kings ſonnes, *Edward*, and *Edmond*, the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and diuers Noblemen induced to vndertake the Holy Warre by the ſollicitation of him: and the King of *France*, who notwithſtanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe aduenture therein. So much either the deſire of reuenge, with the recouery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enioying another World prouoked him to forgoe this, and haſt to his finall deſtruction. And for that Prince *Edward* wanted meanes for his preſent furniſhment, this King of *France* lent him 30. thouſand Markes, for which he morgaged vnto him *Gaſcoigny*. An act, which ſubtler times would interpret to be rather of Policie then Pietie, in this King to ingage in ſuch manner, and vpon ſo eſpeciall a caution, a yong ſtirring Prince, likely in his abſence to imbroyle his Eſtate at home, and to draw him along in the ſame aduenture with himſelfe, without any deſire otherwiſe, either of his company or ayde, conſidering the inconueniences that ſtung theſe ſeuerall Nations heretofore by their incompetabilitie, in the ſame action: but here it were ſinne to thinke they diſguiſed their ends, or had other couerings for their deſignes then thoſe through which they were ſeene; their ſpirits ſeeme to haue beene warmed with a Nobler flame.

Prince *Edw.* his brother and others vndertake the Holy Warre.

And now whilſt this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to eſtabliſh the Peace

Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme thoſe exceſſes the warre had bred, cauſing by proclamation *ſtealth of Cattell to be made a crime Capitall*, and the firſt that ſuffred for the ſame was one of *Dunſtable* who had ſtolne twelue Oxen from the inhabitants of *Colne*, and being perſued to *Redburne* was by the Bayliffe of Saint *Albones* (according to the Kings Proclamation condemned and beheaded. And the ſame yeere the King aſſembles his laſt Parliament at *Marleborough* where the Statutes of that Title were inacted.

21 Parliament at *Marleborough*.

1271. *Anno.* *Reg.* 55

Neere two yeeres it ſeemes to haue beene after the vndertaking the Croſſe before Prince *Edward* ſet forth, a time long ynough (if thoſe reſolutions would haue beene ſhaken) to haue bred an alteration of deſire, but ſo ſtrong was the current of this humour as no worldly reſpects could giue any the leaſt ſtoppage thereunto. Otherwiſe a Prince ſo well acquainted with action, ſo well vnderſtanding the world, ſo forward in yeares (being then 32.) ſo neere the poſſeſsion of a Kingdome, would not haue leaft it, and an aged father broken with daies and trauaile to haue betaken himſelfe (with his deare and tender conſort *Elionor* and as it ſeemes then yong with childe) to a voyage that could promiſe nothing but danger, toyle, miſerie, and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the minde, as they make men neglect the eaſe of their bodies, eſpecially in times not diſſolued with thoſe ſoftnings of Luxurie and Idleneſſe which vnmanners them. And we cannot but admire the vndauntable conſtancie of this Prince, whom all the ſad examples of others calamities (croſsing euen the beginning of action) could not deterre from proceeding therein. For, firſt the King of *France* who with two of his ſonnes, the King of *Nauarre* and a mightie Armie, being ſet out before, and by the way beſieging the Citie of *Tunis* in *Africa* (poſſeſt then by the *Sarazines* that infeſted Chriſtendome) periſhed miſerably by the Peſtilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his ſonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby all their enterpriſe was daſht and vtterly ouerthrowne. Beſides, *Charles* King of *Sicile*, brother to this King of *France*, who likewiſe came to ayde him, returning home, loſt the greateſt part of his Nauie by tempeſt. Moreouer many of this Princes owne people were deſirous to leaue him and returne home. Whereupon hee is ſaid *to haue ſtricken his breaſt, and ſworne: that if all his followers forſooke him, he would yet enter* Tolemais *or* Acon, *though but onely with his Horſe-keeper* Fowin. By which ſpeech they were againe incenced to proceed: but yet his Cozin *Henry* ſonne to the King of *Romans*, obtaines leaue of him to depart, and was ſet on ſhore in *Italie*: where, notwithſtanding he found what he ſought to anoyde, Death; and was ſlaine in the Church at *Viterbo* (being at diuine ſeruice) by his owne Cozin German *Guy de Monfort* (ſonne to *Simon* late Earle of *Leiceſter*) in reuenge of his fathers death. The newes of which vnnaturall murther ſeemes to haſten the end of *Richard* King of *Romans*, who died ſhortly after, and the next yeere following, finiſhed likewiſe *Henry* the 3. of *England* his act, in the 65. of his age hauing reigned 56. yeeres, and 20. daies. *A time that hath held vs long, and taken vp more then a tenth part from the* Norman *Inuaſion to this preſent: and yeelded notes of great varietie with many examples of a craſie, and diſeaſed State, bred both by the inequalitie, of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a ſtubborne Nobilitie.*

The reſolution of Prince *Edmond*.

1274. *Anno.* *Reg.* 57

He had by his wife *Elioner* ſixe ſonnes, whereof only two ſuruiued him, *Edward* and *Edmond*: and two daughters, which liued to be married, *Margueret* the eldeſt to *Alexander* King of *Scots*. *Beatrice* the other to *Iohn* the firſt intituled Duke of *Brittaine*.

His iſſue.

Here endeth the Life, and Raigne of Henry the third.

The

The Life, and Raigne of Edward *the first.*

VPon the death of *Henry*, the State assembles at the new Temple, and proclaimes his sonne *Edward* King, though they knew not whether he were liuing, sweares fealty vnto him: causes a new Seale to bee made: and appoints fit ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remaines in *Palestine*, where by an *Assasin* (making shew of deliuering letters) hee receiues three dangerous wounds with a poisoned knife, whereof he was hardly recured. After three yeares trauell, from the time of his setting foorth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, he leaues *Acon* (which he went to relieue) well fortified, and manned: returnes homeward, lands in *Sicile*, is royally feasted by *Charles* the King thereof: passes through *Italy*, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the *Pope*, and the Princes there. Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foote of the *Alpes*, he is met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chabloun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turneament: Wherein againe he hazards his person to shew his valor, which may seeme to be more then became his Estate, and dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entertayned, and feasted by *Philip* 3. (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom he doth homage for all the Territories he held of that Crowne.

1272. *Anno.* *Reg.* 1.

Thence he departs into *Aquitayne*, where he spent much time in setling his affaires. And after sixe yeares, from his first setting out, hee returnes into *England*: Receiues the Crowne (without which he had beene a King almost three yeares) at the hands of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in *September* 1275. And with him is *Elianor* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had marryed his Sisters) beeing present at the solemnity.

His Coronation.

1274. *Anno.* *Reg.* 3.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions vnder his Father, after the great Defeit he gaue the Barons at *Euesham*: The prosecution of the disherited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and trauaile: His single Combat with *Adam Gordun* the Outlaw neere *Farnham*: His great aduenture and Attempts in the East: And finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his Maturity of yeares (being about 35. before hee came to the Crowne) might well presage what an able Master he would prooue in the mannage thereof. And how (by these aduantages of *Opinion*, and *Reputation*) he was likely (as he did) to make a higher Improuement of the Royalty; hauing wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as hee seemes the first Conqueror, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his gouernment appeares.

And euen at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made triall of their patience, and had the *Fifteenth* of all their goods (*Cleargy* and *Lay*) granted vnto him, without any Noyse as we heare off. The *Cleargie* hauing yeelded before a *Tenth* for two yeers to be paid to him, & his brother *Edmond* toward the charge of the *Holy warre*. But yet all this could not diuert the Designes he had to abate the power *Ecclesiasticall*, which by experience of former times, he found to be a part growne too strong for the Soueraignetie, whensoeuer they combined with the *Lay Nobilitie*: and therefore now at first (whilst he was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the World) be began to set vpon their priuiledges. And in *Anno Reg.* 6. (to extend saith the Monkish Historie, the Royall Authoritie) hee depriued many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their Liberties, and tooke from the Abbot, and Couent of *Westminster* the Returne of Writtes graunted them by the *Charter* of his Father King *Henry* 3. The next yeere after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the increase of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as being detrimentall to the Kingdome, and the Militarie

Quintam Decimam omnium bonorum Temporalium tam Clericorum, quam Laicorum in audito more ad vnguem taxatam Rex iussérat confiscari, Mat. West.

His proceeding against the Clergy.

 seruice

ſeruice of the ſame. In the ſecond Statute of Weſtminſter, he defalked the Iuriſdiction of Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, Hee left not heere, but afterward growing more vpon them, he required the Moietie of all their goods, as well Temporall, as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreame perplexity and griefe) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demand. And at the firſt propounding thereof, one Sir *Iohn Hautring* Knight ſtands vp amongſt them, as they were aſſembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at *Weſtminſter* (and ſaid) *Reuerend Fathers, if any heere will contradict the Kings demand in this buſineſſe, let him ſtand out in the middeſt of the Aſſembly, that his perſon may bee knowne, and ſeene, as one guilty of the Kings peace.* At which ſpeech they all ſate mute. So much were the times altered ſince the late reigne of the father, wherein ſuch a buſineſſe could not haue ſo paſſed. But now this Actiue King being come home, and hauing compoſed his affaires abroad, muſt needes be working, both to ſatisfie his owne deſire in amplifying his power, and intertayning his people in thoſe times incompatible of reſt; and therefore ſome action muſt bee taken in hand.

Mat. Weſt.

An occaſion taken for ſubduing of *Wales.*

Wales, that lay neereſt the danger of a ſuperiour Prince, and had euer ſtrugled for liberty, and the rule of a Natiue Gouernor, had alwayes beene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellious of *England*: had euer combined with *Scotland* to diſturbe the peace, and gouernment thereof: hauing neuer her borders without blood, and miſchiefe; was an apt ſubiect to bee wrought vpon in this time. And occaſions are eaſily taken, where there is a purpoſe to quarrell, eſpecially with an Inferiour. *Leoline*, now Prince of that Prouince, who had ſo long held in the fire of the late ciuill warres of *England* (and deerely payde for it) hauing refuſed vpon ſummons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his firſt Parliament, alleadged hee well remembred how his father *Griffin* burſt his necke out of the Tower of *London*, for which hee brooked not that place, and therefore returned anſwer, *That in any other, vpon Hoſtages giuen him, or Commiſſioners ſent to take his Fealty, hee would (as it ſhould pleaſe the King) bee ready to render it.* This gaue occaſion that King *Edward* the next yeare after, goes with a powerfull Armie: enters his Country with Fire and Sword in ſo fierce manner, as *Leoline* (vnable to reſiſt) ſues for Peace, and obtaines it, but

1279. *Anno.* Reg. 4.

vpon thoſe conditions, as made his Principalitie little different from the tenure of a ſubiect. And beſides he was fined in fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, and to pay 1000. pounds *per annum* for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in ſome thing that might be a tye to this peace, reſtored vnto him *Elionor* (daughter to *Simon Montfort* late Earle of *Leiceſter*) who, with her brother *Almtricke* had beene lately taken priſoners by certaine ſhippes of *Briſtoll*, as ſhee was paſſing out of *France* into *Wales*, to bee made the miſerable wife of this vnfortunate Prince. Whoſe reſtraint, and affliction might perhaps bee a motiue, the rather to incline him to this lowneſſe of ſubmiſſion, and accord: which, as it was made by force (an vnſure contractor of Couenants) ſo was it by diſdaine, as ill an obſeruer, ſoone broken. And eyther the ill adminiſtration of Iuſtice vpon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of bordring Princes) or the euer-working paſſion of deſire of Liberty in the *Welſh*, threw open againe (within three yeares) this ill infenſed cloſure. And out is *Leoline* in armes; ſurpriſes the Caſtles of *Flint*, and *Ruthland*, with the perſon of the Lord *Clifford* ſent Iuſticiar into thoſe parts: and commits all acts

1278. *Anno.* Reg. 6.

of Hoſtility. With him ioynes his brother *Dauid*, on whom King *Edward* (to make him his, finding him of a more ſtirring ſpirit) had beſtowed, after the laſt accord, the honour of Knight-hood: matched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derby*, a rich Widdow: and giuen him, in ſtead of his other lands, the Caſtle of *Denbigh* with 1000. pounds *per annum*. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from thoſe powerfull inclinations of Nature. *The ayding his Country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.*

King *Edward* aduertiſed of this Reuolt (beeing at the *Vize* in *Wiltſhire*) prepares an Army to repreſſe it. But before his ſetting foorth, hee priuately goes to viſit his Mother Queene *Elionor* liuing in the *Nunnery* at *Amsbury*; with whom whilſt he conferred

ferred, there was brought into the Chamber one who faigned himselfe (being blinde) to haue receiued his sight at the Tombe of *Henry* 3. As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. *And wished his Mother in no case to beleeue him.* His mother, who much reioyced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew sodainely into rage, *and willed the King to auoyde her Chamber.* The King obeyes, and going forth meetes with a Clergy man, to whom he tels the story of this Impostor, and merrily said, *He knew the Iustice of his father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eies (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grieuances, and the causes that draue them to reuolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which hee fore-saw would light vpon the Nation. But nothing could hee effect, certaine petty defeits *Leoline* had giuen to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecy of *Merlin* (that *Ginne of Error*) *how hee should be shortly crowned with the* Diademe of Brute; so ouerweighed this poore Prince, as hee had no eare for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after he was slaine in battaile by a common souldier, and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to bee crowned with Iuie, and set vpon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as they write) by the men of *Buelth*. 1283 *Anno. Reg.* 11. The death of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes.

Shortly after, to finish this worke of blood, is *Dauid* his brother taken in *Wales*, and iudged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse tayle about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunck of his Body deuided, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his brother on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Bristoll*, *Northampton*, *Yorke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kind to this Kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Noble man, that we read of in our History. The execution of *Dauid* his brother at *Shrewsbury* the first in that kinde.

But this example made of one, of another, grew after to be vsuall to this Nation. And euen this King (vnder whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And iust at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonsus* his eldest sonne of the age of 12. yeares (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnaruan* (an infant, vncertaine how to prooue) is heire to the Kingdome; and the first of the English intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose vnnaturall destruction, wee shall likewise heare of in his time. The death of the Prince *Alphonsus*.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left vnto the *Brittaines* the ancient possessors of this Isle) to bee vnited to the crowne of *England*, *Anno. Reg.* 11. And strange it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; hauing little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Auncestors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraine Princes of power out of this Isle: and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often inuaded, so often reduced to extremity, so eagerly pursued, almost by euery King, and saide, to haue beene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserue their liberty. And how it was now at last gotten, and vpon what ground we see; But the effect prooues better then the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the *Sword* is not to giue an Account to *Iustice*; the publike benefite makes amends. Those miserable Mischiefes that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Deuision and Plurality of States in this Isle, hauing euer made it the Stage of blood, and confusion: as if nature that had ordained it but one Peece, would haue it to bee gouerned but by one Prince, and one Law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could neuer enioy. And now this prudent King (no lesse prouident to preserue then subdue this Prouince) established the gouernment there- *Wales* vnited to *England*.

of according to the Lawes of *England*, as may bee ſeene by the Statute of *Rutland*, *Anno*, *Reg.* 12.

This worke effected, and ſetled. King *Edward* paſſes ouer into *France* (vpon notice of the death of *Philip le Hardy*) to renue and confirme ſuch conditions, as his State required in thoſe parts with the new King *Philip* 4. (intituled *le Bel*) to whom he doth Homage for *Aquitaine*, hauing before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for euer. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile*, and *Aragon* in *Spaine* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achaia* (the ſonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) priſoner in *Aragon*, paying for his ranſome thirty thouſand pounds.

1286 *Anno. Reg.* 13.

After three yeares and a halfe beeing abroad, he returnes into *England*, which muſt now ſupply his Coffers emptyed in this Voyage. And occaſion is giuen (by the generall complaints made vnto him of the ill adminiſtration of Iuſtice in his abſence) to inflict penalties vpon the chiefe Miniſters thereof; whoſe manifeſt corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that profeſſion (apt to abuſe their Science, and Authority) the Neceſſity of reforming ſo grieuous a miſchiefe in the Kingdome, gaue eaſie way thereunto by the Parliament then aſſembled; wherein, vpon due examinations, and proofe of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King theſe ſummes following.

1289 *Anno. Reg.* 16

Sir *Ralph Hengham* a chiefe Commiſſioner for the gouernment of the kingdome in the kings abſence. Officers fined for bribery and extortion.

Firſt Sir *Ralph Hengham* Chiefe Iuſtice of the higher Bench, ſeuen thouſand Marks. Sir *Iohn Loueton* Iuſtice of the lower Bench, three thouſand Markes. Sir *William Bromton* Iuſtice, 6000. Markes. Sir *Solomon Rocheſter*, foure thouſand Markes. Sir *Richard Boyland*, 4000. Markes. Sir *Thomas Sodington*, two thouſand Markes. Sir *Walter Hopton*, 2000. Markes: theſe foure laſt were Iuſtices Itenerants. Sir *William Saham* 3000. Markes. *Robert Lithbury* Maſter of the Rolles, 1000. Markes. *Roger Leiceſter*, 1000. Markes. *Henry Bray Eſcheater*, and Iudge for the Iewes, 1000. Markes. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000. Markes. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greateſt delinquent, and of the greateſt ſubſtance) hath all his goods, and whole eſtate confiſcated to the King, Which were it but equall to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, theſe fines being to the Kings Coffers aboue one hundred thouſand Markes; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to aboue 300. thouſand Markes. A mighty treaſure to bee gotten out of the hands of ſo few men. Which, how they could amaſſe in thoſe dayes, when Litigation, and Law had not ſpred it ſelfe into thoſe infinit wreathings of contention (as ſince it hath) may ſeeme ſtrange, euen to our greater getting times. But peraduenture now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger then the Law (as all trades of profit come ouerpeſtred with multitude of Traders) is the cauſe (that like a huge Riuer diſperſed into many little Rilles) their ſubſtances are of a ſmaller proportion, then thoſe of former times, and Offices now of Iudicature peraduenture more piouſly executed.

The baniſhment of the Iewes.

Of no leſſe grieuance, this King the next yeare after eaſed his people, by the baniſhment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdome willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Hauing before (in *Anno*, *Reg.* 9.) offered a fift part of their goods to haue them expelled, but then the *Iewes* gaue more, and ſo ſtayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by confiſcating all their Immooueables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite valew. But now hath hee made his laſt commodity of this miſerable people, which hauing beene neuer vnder other couer then the will of the Prince, had continually ſerued the turne in all the neceſſarie occaſions of his Predeceſſors, but eſpecially of his father and himſelfe. And in theſe reformations that are eaſefull, and pleaſing to the State in generall; the Iuſtice of the Prince is more noted, then any other motiue, which may bee for his profit. And howſoeuer ſome particular men ſuffer (as ſome muſt euer ſuffer) yet they are the faireſt, and ſafeſt waies of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuſes, not onely diſcharges the Prince of al imputation of rigor, but renders him more beloued & reſpected of his people. And this King, hauing much to doe for money (comming to an empty Crowne) was driuen to all ſhifts poſſible to get it, and great ſupplies wee finde, hee had already drawne

drawne from his ſubiects. As in the firſt yeare of his Raigne, *Pope Gregory* procured him a Tenth of the *Clergy* for 2. yeares; beſides a *Fifteenth* of them, & the *Temporalty*. In the third likewiſe another *Fifteenth* of both. In the Fift, a *Twentieth* of their goods towards the *Welſh warres*. In the ſeauenth the Old Money was was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297, were at one time executed at *London*, and this brought him in a great benefit. In *Anno, Reg.* 8. ſeeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands by a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (which oppoſed by the Earle *Warreine*, who drew out his ſword vpon the Writte, ſaying, *How by the ſame he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King deſiſts and obtaines a *Fifteenth* of the *Clergy*. In the eleauenth, he had a *Thirtieth of the Temporalty*, and a *Twentieth* of the *Clergie* for the *Welſh Wars*. In the Thirteenth, *Eſcuage*, forty ſhillings for euery Knights fee for the ſame purpoſe. In the fourteenth, he had a thouſand Marks of certaine Marchants fined for falſe Weights. In the ſeauenteenth, thoſe fines fore-declared of the Iudges. In the eighteenth, this Confiſcation of *Iewes*, and a *fifteenth of the engliſh* After this *Anno, Reg. nineteenth* pretending a Voyage to the *Holy Land*, the *Clergy* grants him an *eleauenth* part of all Mooueables, and ſhortly after the *Pope* procures him a *Tenth* for ſixe yeares to bee collected in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and layde vp in Monaſteries vntill hee were entred into *Mare Magnior*. But hee made the Collectors pay him the money gathered for three yeares without going ſo farre, hauing occaſion to vſe it at home, about the purchaſe of a new Kingdome.

His many ſupplies and means for Money.

1290 *Anno. Reg.* 17

For, the crowne of *Scotland* (vpon the death of King *Alexander*, and of the daughter of his daughter *Margaret*, who was to inherit) was now in controuerſie. Sixe Competitors pretend title thereunto, all deſcending from *Dauid* Earle of *Huntingdon*, younger brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Vncle to this late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes vpon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Anceſtors ouer that kingdome. The *Scots* which ſwayed the *Interregnum*, are conſtrayned for auoiding further inconueniences, to make him Arbiter therof, and the ſix Competitors bound to ſtand to his Award. Two are eſpecially found, betweene whom the Right lay: *Iohn Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*: the one deſcending from an elder Daughter, the other from a ſonne of a younger Daughter of *Alan*, who had marryed the eldeſt Daughter of this *Dauid* brother to King *William*. The Controuerſie held long. Twelue of either Kingdome learned in the lawes, are elected to debate the ſame at *Berwicke*: All the beſt *Ciuilians* in the Vniuerſities of *France* are ſollicited to giue their opinions, the differences, and perplexedues whereof made the deciſſion more difficult: According to the *Nature* of *Litigation* that euer begettes rather *Doubts* then *Reſolutions*, and neuer knowes well how to make an end.

The occaſion of his Wars with *Scotland*.

King *Edward* choſen by the Scots to arbitrate the right of the pretenders to that Crowne.

1291. *Anno. Reg.* 18

King *Edward*, the better to ſway this buſineſſe by his preſence, takes his Iourney *Northward*, and whileſt he ſought to compaſſe greater felicity, he loſt the better part of what hee had in this world, his deere conſort *Elianor* (who had euer attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honor of Woman-hood: who is ſaid to haue ſucked the poiſon out of the wound giuen him by the *Aſſaſin* in the *Eaſt*, when no other meanes could preſerue his life) dies by the way in *Lincolnſhire*. With whoſe Corps, in extreame griefe he returnes back to *Weſtminſter*, cauſing (at all eſpeciall places where it reſted by the Way) goodly engrauen Croſſes, with her Statue to be erected. As at *Stamford*, *Waltham*, *Weſt-cheape*, *Charing* and others, Gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfulneſſe.

Queene *Elianor* dies. Her Praiſe.

Her Funerals performed, backe hee returnes to his *Scottiſh* buſineſſe: An now ſixe yeares it was ſince the Death of King *Alexander*, and much time hauing beene ſpent, and nothing concluded in this controuerſie: King *Edward* that would bee ſure (whoſoeuer preuailed) to haue the hand that ſhould make him, deales priuately with *Bruce* (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promiſes him, if hee would yeeld *Fealty* and *Homage* to the Crowne of *England*, hee would inueſt him in that of *Scotland*. *Bruce* anſweres, *Hee was not ſo deſirous of Rule, as thereby to infringe the Liber-*

Sccotiſh Hiſt.

Baliol made king of *Scotland.*

1294 *Anno.* *Reg.*21

ties of his Countrey. Then with the like offer he ſets vpon *Baliol*, who hauing better right but leſſe loue of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, then honour yeeldes thereunto: is Crowned King at *Scone*: hath Fealty done him of all the chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: comes to *New caſtle vpon Tyne* where King *Edward* then lay: and there (with many of his Nobles) ſweares Fealty, and did Homage vnto him, as his Soueraigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to ſecure him, ouer-threw him. For, beeing little beloued before, heereby he became leſſe: ſuch as ſtood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preſeruation of their Countries liberty) grew into Stomacke againſt him; as hauing not onely diſcontented them in this Act, but ſhortly after in his Iuſtice, in the caſe of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the ſixe Gouernours in the time of the *Anarchie*, who had beene ſlayne by the Family of *Aberneth*. And the brother of his Earle now proſecuted in Law, before the King *Baliol* in his high Court of Parliament (where hauing no right done him, King *Baliol* giuing Iudgement on the ſide of the *Abernethes*) the wronged Gentleman appeales to the Court of the King of *England*. King *Baliol* is thither ſummoned: appeares, ſits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cauſe was to be tried, and then is hee cited by an Officer to ariſe and ſtand at the place appointed for pleading: He craues to anſwere by a Procurator: it is denied: then himſelfe ariſes, and diſcends to the ordinary place, and defends his cauſe.

Baliol diſcontented returnes into *Scotland.*

1296 *Anno.* *Reg.*23

With which Indignity (as hee tooke it) hee returnes home, with a breaſt full charged with indignation: Meditates reuenge, renewes the ancient League with *France*: Confirmes it with the marriage of his ſonne *Edward*, with a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad, in regard of late offences taken againſt the King of *England*, to imbrace the ſame: Which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*: renounces his Allegiance as vnlawfully done, beeing not in his power (without the conſent of the State) to doe any ſuch act. Hereupon brake out that mortall diſſention betweene the two Nations (which during the raigne of the three laſt Scottiſh Kings had held faire correſpondence together) that conſumed more Chriſtian blood; wrought more ſpoyle, and diſtruction, and continued longer then euer quarrell wee read of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that began it could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working deſire of Reuenge of wrongs (that euer beget wrongs) laſted almoſt three hnndred yeares. And all the Succeſſors of this King (euen to the laſt, before this bleſſed Vnion) haue had their ſhares more or leſſe in this miſerable affliction, both to their great exſpence of treaſure, and extreame hindrance in all other their deſignes. Although the intention of this great and Marſhall King for reducing this whole Iſle vnder one gouernment, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, ane greatneſſe, that euer ſeekes to extend it ſelfe as farre as it can: yet all ſuch Actions hath much of iniquity, ſo had this, and we ſee it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God hath fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordained it for an vnſtained hand to ſet it together in peace, that it might take the more ſure, and laſting hold, which otherwiſe it could neuer haue done. Violence may ioyne Territories, but neuer affections together; which onely muſt grow voluntarily, and bee the worke of it ſelfe. And yet no doubt it was in the deſigne of this King to haue obtained it in the faireſt manner he could. As firſt ſhewes his ſeeking to match his ſonne *Edward* with *Margaret* daughter to the King of *Norway*, grand-child, and heire to the laſt King *Alexander*, who (dying an Infant ſoone after her grandfather) diſappointed his hopes that way: and draue him to haue recourſe to his Soueraignty, which beeing oppoſed, hee was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintaine his owne honour, and to effect what hee had begunne. Whereof the miſerable euents were ſuch, as now we may well ſpare their memory, and bee content thoſe bloody Relations ſhould bee razed out of all Record: but that they ſerue to ſhew vs the wofull calamities of our ſeparation, and the comfortable bleſſings wee enioy by this our happy Vnion. Neither doth it now concerne vs to ſtand vpon any points of Honour, whether of the Nations did the braueſt Exploites in thoſe times, ſeeing who had the better was beaten

The occaſion of the warres betweene *England* and *Scotland.*

beaten, neither did the ouercommer conquer, when hee had done what hee could: That little which was gained, coſt ſo much more then it was worth, as it had beene better not to haue beene had at all. And if any ſide had the Honour, it was the inuaded nation, which being the Weaker, and Smaller, ſeemes neuer to haue beene ſubdued, though often ouercome: Continuing (notwithſtanding all their miſeries) reſolute to preſerue their Liberties; which neuer People of the World more Nobly defended, againſt ſo Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardineſſe, and Conſtancie, it had beene impoſsible, but they muſt haue beene brought to an vtter conſternation.

For all what the Powre of this Kingdome could do (which then put all the ſtrength to doe what it could) was ſhewed in this Kings time: Who now (vpon this defection of King *Baliol*, and his League made with *France*) Counter-leagues with all the Princes he could draw in, either by gifts, or Alliance to ſtrengthen his partie abroad. As firſt with *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, with whoſe Daughter hee ſeekes to match his Sonne *Edward*. Then with *Adolph de Naſſaw* the Emperor, to whom hee ſends Fifteene thouſand pounds Sterling to recouer certaine lands of the Empire which *Adolph* claimed in *France*: He had likewiſe married one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretends Title to *Champaign*, another to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee ſets vpon the King of *France*; who had (for Certaine ſpoiles committed on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, by the *Engliſh*, and no redreſſe obtained) ſummoned King *Edward*, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and anſwer it in his Court, which he refuſing to doe, is by an Arreſt condemned to forfeit all his Territories in *France*: And an Armie is preſently ſent forth to ſeize vpon the ſame, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neele* Conſtable of *France*. *Burdeaux* with diuers other Peeces of importance are taken, and fortified. For the recouerie whereof, the King of *England* ſends ouer his Brother *Edmond* Earle of *Lancaſter*, the Earles of *Lincolne* and *Richmond* with eight and twentie Banners, Seauen hundred men at Armes, and a Nauie of three hundred and ſixtie Saile. And notwithſtanding all this mightie charge, and Forces imployed in thoſe parts. King *Edward* ſets vpon King *Baliol* (refuſing vpon Summons to appeare at his Court at *Newcaſtle*, ſtanding vpon his owne Defence) and enters *Scotland* with an Armie ſufficient to Conquer a farre mightier Kingdome, conſiſting of foure thouſand men at Armes on Horſe, and thirtie thouſand Foote, beſides 500. Horſe, and one thouſand foote of the Biſhop of *Dureſme*: intending here to make ſpeedie worke that hee might afterward paſſe ouer Sea to ayde his Confederates, and bee reuenged of the King of *France*.

Berwicke is firſt wonne with the death of fifteene Thouſand *Scots*, (our writers, report more; but nothing is more vncertaine then the number of the ſlaine in Battailes; and after that the Caſtles of *Dunbarre*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Iohns* Towne were wonne or yeelded vnto him, King *Baliol* ſues for peace: Submits himſelfe; takes againe his oath of *Fealtie* to King *Edward* as his Soueraigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* was held at *Berwick*, wherein the Nobility did likewiſe Homage vnto him, confirming the ſame by their Charter vnder their hands and Seales. Onely *William Dowglaſſe* refuſes, content rather to endure the miſery of a Priſon, then yeelde to the ſubiection of *England*. King *Baliol* (Notwithſtanding his ſubmiſsion) is ſent Priſoner into *England*, after his foure yeeres dignitie, I cannot ſay Raigne: For it ſeemes hee had but little power, and King *Edward* returnes from this expedition, leauing *Iohn Warrein* Earle of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *Ormeſley* Chiefe Iuſtice, with Commiſsion to take in his name the *Homages*, and *Fealties* of all ſuch as helde Lands of that Crowne.

And heere this Conqueſt might ſeeme to haue beene effected, which yet was not. It muſt coſt infinite more Blood, Trauaile, and Treaſure, and all to as little effect. And now the *French* buſineſſes (that require ſpeedy helpe) are wholly intended. For which King *Edward* cals a Parliament at Saint *Edmonds Bury*, wherein the Citizens, and Bur-

King *Edwards* combines with other Princes.

An Army ſent into *France*.

Another into *Scotland*.

1297. *Anno.* *Reg.* 24

King *Edwards* victories in *Scotland*.

1298. *Anno.* *Reg.* 25

Burgeſſes of good Townes granted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergie (vpon a prohibition from Pope *Boniface*, that no Tallage or Impoſition, layde by any lay Prince, vpon whatſoeuer appertained to the Church ſhould be paide) abſolutely refuſe to giue any thing. Which Prohibition may ſeeme to haue beene procured by themſelues, in regard of the many Leuies lately made vpon the eſtate Eccleſiaſticall. As in *Anno Reg.* 22. they paied the moytie of of their goods; of which the Abbay of *Canterbury* yeelded 596. pounds 7. ſhillings and 10. pence: and beſides furniſhed ſixe horſes for the Sea-coaſts. This Leauie as *Stow* notes in his collection amounted to ſixe hundreth thouſand pounds. And in *Anno Reg.* 23. the King ſeized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Beſides hee had a Loane of the Clergie, which amounted to 100. thouſand pounds, whereof the Abbat of *Bury* paide 655. pounds.

The King puts the Clergie out of his protection.

Notwithſtanding now, vpon this their refuſall, the King puts the Clergie out of his protection, whereby they were to haue no Iuſtice in any of his Courts (a ſtraine of State beyond any of his Predeſſours) which ſo amazed them beeing expoſed to all offences and iniuries whatſoeuer, and no meanes to redreſſe themſelues, as the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, with the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Lincolne*, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the maintenance of the Kings warres: whereby they appeazed his wrath, and were receiued into grace. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by whoſe animation the reſt ſtood out, had all his goods ſeized on, and all the Monaſteries within his Dioceſſe and part of *Lincolne*, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to miniſter onely neceſſaries to the Monkes, conuerting the reſt to the Kings vſe. At length by much ſuite, the Abbats, and Prieſts giuing the fouth part of their goods, redeeme themſelues, and the Kings fauour. Thus will Martiall Princes haue their turnes ſerued by their Subiects, in the times of their Neceſsities howſoeuer they oppoſe it.

The Lords refuſe to goe to *Gaiſcogny* except the king went in perſon.

During this contract with the Clergie, the King calles a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admiſsion of any Church-men; wherein, *hee requires certaine of the great Lords to goe vnto the warres of Gaſcoine*, which required a preſent ſupply, vpon the death of his brother *Edmond* (who hauing ſpent much treaſure, and time in the ſiege of *Burdeaux* without any ſucceſſe, retyres to *Bayon*, then in poſſeſsion of the *Engliſh*, and there ends his life. *But they all making their excuſes, euery man for himſelfe; the King in great anger threatned they ſhould either goe, or he would giue their lands to others that ſhould. Whereupon* Humfrey Bohun *Earle of* Hereford *high Conſtable, and* Roger Bigod *Earle of* Norfolke *Marſhall of* England, *make their declaration, that if the King went in perſon they would attend him, otherwiſe not.* Which anſwer more offends, and beeing vrged againe; *the Earle Marſhall proteſted hee would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe. But the King told him plainely hee ſhould goe with any other, although himſelfe went not in perſon. I am not ſo bound ſaid the Earle, neither will I take that iourney without you. The King ſwore by God, Sir Earle you ſhall goe or hang. And I ſweare by the ſame oath, I will neither goe, nor hang*, ſaid the Earle: and ſo without leaue departs.

Mat. Weſt.

Shortly after the two Earles aſſembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, ſo that they were fifteene hundred men at Armes well appointed, and ſtood vpon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, proſecutes them not as then, but lets the matter paſſe: In regard that both his buſineſſe in *France*, and the preſsing neceſsitie of ayding his Confederats (whereon his honour, and whole eſtate abroad depended) called him ouer into *Flanders*; which the King of *France* had now inuaded; pretending the ſame title of Soueraignty to that Prouince, as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. And hauing had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other deſignes of the Earle *Guy*, ſends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his wife, and daughter to make merry with him at *Paris*: where inſteed of feaſting, he makes him his priſoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he ſought being his vaſſall to match her to the Sonne of his capitall enemy. The Earle excuſes it the beſt he could, and by much mediation is releaſed,

The *French* king inuits the Earle of *Flanders* to *Paris*, and there impriſons him.

and

and ſuffered to depart, but without his Daughter: of whoſe ſurprize, and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) he complaines to the Pope, and other Princes, who earneſtly vrge the releaſe of the yong Lady, but all in vaine; and thereupon this Earle (preſuming on the ayde of his confederates) takes armes, and defies the King of *France*. Who now comes with an Army of ſixtie thouſand againſt him; which cauſed the King of *England* to make what ſpeed he could, to releeue this diſtreſſed Earle, and to leaue all his other buſineſſes at home in that broken eſtate which hee did; the *Scots* in reuolt, and his owne people in diſcontent. For which yet hee tooke the beſt order hee could: leauing the adminiſtration of the Kingdome during his abſence to the Prince, and certaine eſpeciall Councellors, as the Biſhop of *London*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Reginald Gray*, and *Clifford*, and beſides, to recouer the Clergie receiued the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* into fauour.

The *French* King inuades *Flanders*.

And being ready now to take ſhip, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons ſend him a Roll of the generall grieuances of his Subiects: *Concerning his Taxes, Subſidies, and other Impoſitions; with his ſeeking to force their ſeruices, by vnlawfull courſes: his late impoſt layd of fortie ſhillings vpon euery ſacke of Wooll, being before but halfe a marke, eſtimating the Wooll of* England, *to a fift part of all the ſubſtance thereof.* The King ſends anſwer, *that he could not alter any thing without the aduice of his councell, which were not now about him: and therefore required them, ſeeing they would not attend him in this iourney (which they abſolutely refuſed to doe though hee went in perſon, vnleſſe hee had gone into* France *or* Scotland) *that they would yet doe nothing in his abſence preiudiciall to the peace of the Kingdome. And that vpon his returne, hee would ſet all things in good order as ſhould be fit.*

This roll of grieuances is recorded by *Tho. Wa.* viz. Append. 1299. *Anno. Reg.* 26

And ſo with 500. ſaile, eighteene thouſand men at Armes, he puts out for this iourney, wherein Fortune ſhewed him, how ſhe would not be alwaies his: For contrary to his expectation he found the Country of *Flanders* diſtracted into popular factions; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their liberties (which they reſpected more then their obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwiſe then themſelues pleaſed. And now the King of *France*, daily getting vpon them (hauing wonne *Liſle*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*; and the Emperour *Adolph* fayling of his ayde and perſonall aſsiſtance, as vn-intereſſed confederates often doe, eſpecially hauing receiued their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the ſumme of 100. thouſand Markes) draue the King of *England* into great perplexitie, and held him with long delayes, to his extreame trauaile and expences: which forced him to ſend ouer for more ſupply of Treaſure, and giue order for a Parliament to be held at *Yorke* by the Prince, and ſuch as had the manage of the State in his abſence. Wherein, for that he would not bee diſappointed, he condiſcends to all ſuch Articles as were demanded concerning the great Charter: promiſing from thenceforth neuer to charge his ſubiects otherwiſe then by their conſents in Parliament, and to pardon ſuch as had denied to attend him in this iourney. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth penny of their goods: the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergie of the Prouince, the Tenth penny: *Yorke*, and his Prouince, the Fifth: ſo the Kings inſtant wants are releeued, and the Kingdome ſatisfied for a preſent ſhift. But it is not well with a State, where the Prince, and people ſeeke but to obtaine their ſeuerall ends, and worke vpon the aduantages of each others neceſsities: for as it is vn-ſincere, ſo it is often vnſucceſſefull, and the good ſo done hurts more, then it pleaſures.

King *Edward* paſſes ouer into *Flanders* to the ayd of the Earle *Guy*.

A Parliament held at *Yorke* in the abſence of the King.

The King thus ſupplied, ſtaies all this Winter in *Gaunt*, where his people committing many outrages, ſo exaſperats the *Gantois*; as they tooke armes, made head againſt them, ſlue many, and put the Kings perſon in great danger: ſo that, doe what the Earle *Guy*, and himſelfe could to appeaſe them, in ſatisfying ſuch, as had receiued wrong, and giuing the reſt faire words, he hardly could eſcape ſafe out of the Countrey; which rather deſired to haue the *Engliſh* commodities, then their companies. This was the ſucceſſe of his iourney into *Flanders*, which he leaues at the ſpring of the yeere, hauing concluded a truce with the King of *France* for two yeeres. And the

The *Gantois* take armes againſt the *Engliſh*.
King *Edward* in danger.
Hee returnes into *England*

the poore Earle *Guy* left to himſelfe is ſhortly after made the prey of his enemy, and his priſoner in *Paris*; where he and his daughter both died of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a poſſeſsion, though not to the ſubiection of the King of *France*. For after they had receiued him for their Lord, his exactions & oppreſsions vpon them, contrary to their ancient Liberties ſo armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gaue *France* the greateſt wound that euer before it receiued at one blow; which was at the famous battell of *Courtray*, wherein the Earle of *Artoiſe* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Conſtable of *France*, and all the Leaders with Twelue thouſand Gentlemen were ſlaine. And to ſhow what this King of *France* got, by ſeeking to attaine this Soueraignetie of *Flanders* (as well, as we ſhall heare of the King of *Englands* getting vpon *Scotland* for the ſame title.) It is recorded in their Hiſtories, that in the ſpace of Eleuen yeeres, this quarrell coſt the liues of 100. Thouſand *French* men. Beſides it draue the King likewiſe to conſume the ſubſtances of his people, as wel as their blood, and to loade them with new impoſitions as, that of *Malletoſte* and the Tenth *Denier* vpon *liure* of all Merchandiſes, which in the Collection bred great outcries, and dangerous ſeditions among his Subiects: And theſe were the fruits of theſe great attempters.

The Hiſtory of *France*.

1300. *Anno.* *Re.* 27.

Now for King *Edward* of *England*, he preſently after his returne, falles a new vpon *Scotland*, which in his abſence had beaten his officers, and people almoſt out of the Countrie, ſlaine Sir *Hugh Creſſingham* with 6000. *Engliſh*: recouered many Caſtles, and regaind the Towne of *Berwicke*. And all by the animation and conduct of *William Wallice* a poore priuate Gentleman (though nobly diſcended) who ſeeing his Countrie without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in Captiuitie or ſubiection) aſſembles certaine of as poore and deſperate eſtate as himſelfe, and leades them to attempt vpon whatſoeuer aduantages they could diſcouer, to annoy the *Engliſh*. And hauing therein good ſucceſſe, it ſo increaſed both his Courage, and Company; as hee afterwards comes to bee the generall *Gardian* of the whole Kingdome: leads their Armies; effects thoſe great Defeits vpon the Enemy: and was in poſsibilitie to haue abſolutely redeemed his Countrie, from the ſubiection of *England* (had not ſome priuate Emulation amongſt themſelues, and the ſpeedie comming of King *Edward*, with all his power) preuented him. So much could the ſpirit of one braue man worke, to ſet vp a whole Nation vpon their feet, that lay vtterly caſt downe. And as well might hee at that time haue gotten the Dominion for himſelfe, as the place he had: but that hee held it more glory to preſerue his Countrie, then to get a Crowne. For which, he hath his immortall honour; and whatſoeuer praiſe can be giuen to meere Vertue, muſt be euer due vnto him.

K. *Ed.* proſecutes his *Scotiſh* buſineſſe. *Will. Wallice* animates the *Scots* againſt the ſubiection of *England*.

And now King *Edward* to bring his worke neere together, remooues his *Exchequer* and Courts of Iuſtice to *Yorke*: where they continued aboue Sixe yeeres. And thither calles he a Parliament, requiring all his Subiects that held of him by Knights ſeruice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptorie day: where are aſſembled Three thouſand men at Armes on barded Horſes, and Foure thouſand other armed men on Horſe without bards, with an Army on foot anſwerable, conſiſting moſt of *Welſh*, and *Iriſh*: beſides, Fiue hundred men at armes out of *Gaſconie*, and with this power makes he his ſecond expedition into *Scotland*.

K *Ed.* remooues his Exchequer and Courts of Iuſtice to *Yorke*.

The Earles of *Hereford*, and *Norfolke*, notwithſtanding their former contempts, attend him. And although he were thus girt with all this ſtrength, and in the midſt of his mightineſſe, they vrge the ratifications of the Two *Charters*, and their Pardons: which they held not ſufficient to ſecure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme, at the late granting thereof. The Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Earles of *Surrey*, *Warwicke*, and *Gloceſter* vndertooke for the King, that after hee had ſubdued his Enemies, and was returned, hee ſhould ſatisfie them therein. And ſo theſe two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, Led his Vauntguard at the famous Battell of *Fonkirke* which the King of *England* gat, wherein are reported to be ſlaine, 200. Knights, and Forty thouſand foot of the *Scots*. But *William Wallice* with ſome few eſcaped to make more worke.

The famous Battell of *Fonkirke*.
The *Scots* ouerthrowne.

And

And here againe that Kingdome might ſeeme, as if quite ouercome. Moſt of the eſtates of the Earles, and Barons of *Scotland* (with their titles) that had ſtood out were beſtowed on the *Engliſh* Nobility, to make them the more egar to maintaine and proſecute this Conqueſt. And a Parliament is called at *Saint Andrewes*, where all the great men of that kingdome (except onely *Wallice*) againe ſweare *Fealtie* to the King of *England*.

A Parliement at Saint *Andrewes*.

The *Scottiſh* writers here ſet a wide marke of Tyrannie vpon King *Edward* in this expedition, *as not content to carry away captiue all ſuch as might ſeeme to haue any the leaſt ability to ſtirre: but alſo endeauours to extinguiſh if it were poſſible, the very memory of the Nation: aboliſhing all their ancient lawes, traducing their Eccleſiaſticall rights, to the cuſtome of* England: *diſpoiling them of their Hiſtories: their inſtruments of State; their Antique Monumens, left either by the* Romanes, *or erected by themſelues: tranſporting all their Bookes and Bookemen into* England: *Sending to* London *the Marble ſtone, wherein (as the Vulgar were perſwaded) the Fate of the Kingdome conſiſted: and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or inſtruct generous ſpirits in the way of vertue and worthineſſe. So that he bereaued them not onely of their ſtrength: but of their mindes: ſuppoſing thereby to eſtabliſh a perpetuall Domination ouer that Kingdome.*

The *Scottiſh* writers inueigh againſt the tyranny of K. *Ed.*

This iourney ended, a Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the promiſed confirmation of the Two *Charters*, and the allowance of what diſforreſtation had heretofore beene made, was earneſtly vrged, and in the end with much a doe grauted, with omiſsion of the *Clauſe, Saluo Iure Coronæ noſtræ*, which the King laboured to haue inſerted, but the people would not indure the ſame: the perambulation of the Forreſts of *England* is committed to three Biſhops, three Earles, and three Barons.

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

In this little pauſe of Peace at home, a Concord is, by the mediation of *Pope Boniface*, concluded with the King of *France*: whoſe ſiſter *Margaret*, the King of *England* takes to wife in the ſixtie two yeere of his age (ſomething too late for ſo yong a March) and the Daughter of the ſame King is likewiſe affianced to the Prince. And thereupon reſtitution made of what had beene vſurped by the *French* King in *Gaſconie*. *Burdeaux* returnes to the obedience of the King of *England* (to the Merchants of which Citie he paid 150. thouſand pounds for his brother *Edmonds* expences in the late wars, and all is well on that ſide. Beſides the ſame *Pope* obtained permiſsion, for *Iohn Baliol* the captiue King of *Scots* to depart and liue in *France* vpon certaine lands he had there, and vndertooke for his obſeruation of the Peace, and his confinement; who ſhortly after dies, hauing had little ioy of a Crowne or ſcarce leiſure to know he was a King. The Decrying, and calling in of a certaine baſe Coine named *Crocard*, and *Pollard*, with the new ſtamping them againe, yeelded ſomething to the Kings Coffers: which muſt be emptied in *Scotland*, whither againe (hauing beene ſcarce Eighteene moneths at home) he makes his third expedit, but did little, beſides the regaining of *Sterling* Caſtle which held out three moneths ſiege againſt all his power, and Ingines reared with infinite charge, and labour. And in the end not wonne but yeelded vp by the Defendant *William Oliuer*, vpon promiſe which was not kept with him. The reſt of the *Scots* made no head, but kept in the Mountaines, and Faſtneſſes of their Countrey whereby the Kings Armie hauing more to doe with barrenneſſe then men, ſuffered much affliction and many Horſes were ſtarued.

1301. *Anno Reg.* 28

Now vpon this Peace with *France*, the *Scots* beeing excluded and hauing none to releeue them, ſend their lamentable complaints to *Pope Boniface*, *ſhewing him the afflicted ſtate of their Countrie: the vſurpation of the King of* England *vpon them, and his moſt tyrannicall proceeding with them, contrarie to all right and equitie. Proteſting they neuer knew of any Soueraigntie hee had ouer them, but that they were a free Kingdome of themſelues; and ſo at firſt hee dealt with them, vpon the death of their laſt King* Alexander, *both in the treaty of the marriage for his ſonne* Edward, *with* Margaret *the heire of* Scotland: *and alſo after her death for the deciſion of the Title, wherein he ſought by their conſents to be made Arbitror, as he was. Howſoeuer afterward they were conſtrained to giue way to his will; yet, what they euer yeelded vnto was by reaſon they were otherwiſe vnable to reſiſt, &c.* Vpon this remonſtrance of the *Scots*, the *Pope* writes his powerfull letters to

to the King of *England*, to forbeare any further proceeding againſt them; Claiming withall, the Soueraigntie of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King anſweres the *Popes* Letters at large. *Alledging from all Antiquitie, how the direct and ſuperiour Dominion of* Scotland, *had euer appertained to this Crowne, euen from* Brute *to his owne time*: And with all the whole Nobilitie write to the *Pope*, auowing *the ſame right. And abſolutely conclude that the King their Lord ſhould in no ſort vndergoe his* Holineſſe *iudgement therein. Neither ſend his Procurators (as was required) about that buſineſſe, whereby it might ſeeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the preiudice of the Crowne, the Royall Dignitie, the Liberties, Cuſtomes and Lawes of* England; *which by their oath and dutie they were bound to obſerue, and would defend with their liues. Neither would they permit, nor could, any ſuch vn-uſuall, vn-lawfull, and detrimentall proceeding. Nor ſuffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way to attempt the ſame. And therefore beſought his* Holineſſe *to intermeddle no more in this matter.* Theſe Letters ſubſcribed with all their names were dated at *Lincolne*; where, then was held the Parliament *Anno Domini* 1301.

Vid. Apend.

The *Pope* vpon this anſwer, or rather hauing his hands full of other buſineſſe, ſtirres no more in this. The King of *France* whom he had excommunicated, and giuen away his Kingdome to the Emperour *Albert* of *Auſtrich*, ſhortly after ſo wrought, as his *Spiritualty* was ſurprized at *Anagne* a Citie of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retyred from the troubles of *Rome*; and ſo violently treated by *Sciarra Coloneſſe*, a *Banditto* of *Rome*, and *Nogoret*, an *Albigioye* (whom he had both perſecuted) as in extreame rage, and anguiſh within few daies after he ends his turbulent life.

And the King of *England* (hauing beene ſupplied, with a Fifteenth vpon Confirmation of the *Charters* againe, at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) hee makes his Fourth expedition into *Scotland*, and as it were the Fourth Conqueſt thereof, hauing had Foure times Homage and Fealtie ſworne vnto him. Which might ſeeme ſufficient to confirme his Soueraigntie, whereof now he reſts ſecure, and home returnes in triumphant manner: Remoones his *Exchequer* from *Yorke*: Feaſts his Nobilitie at *Lincolne* with all Magnificence: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders ſolemne thankes to *God* and Saint *Edward* for victory. Which to make it ſeeme the more intire, ſhortly after, *William Wallice* (that renowned *Guardian* of *Scotland*, betrayed by his Companion) is ſent vp priſoner to *London*: adiudged according to the Lawes of *England*, to be drawn, hangd, and quartered, for his treaſons committed againſt the King (whom at his Arraignment he would not yet acknowledge to be his King) proteſting neuer to haue ſworne *Fealty* vnto him.

1305. *Anno.* *Reg.* 32

Thus ſuffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne in a ſtrange Countrie, and remains amongſt the beſt examples of Fortitude & Pietie in that kinde. And now King *Edward*, being (as he ſuppoſed) at an end of all his buſineſſe: an vniuerſall Lord at home: ſtrong in Alliance, and Peace abroad; beginnes to looke more ſeuerely to the gouernement of this Kingdome, and to draw profit out of thoſe diſorders, which the *Licence* of Warre, and Trouble had bred therein. And firſt, amongſt other examples of his power (which it ſeemes he would haue equall to his will) is the caſe of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*, one of the greateſt Knights then of the Kingdome, who being accuſed of treaſon by Sir *Iohn Crombwell*, offers to iuſtifie himſelfe by *Duell*, which the King refuſes to grant, in regard of the preſent Warre then in hand. Whereupon *Segraue* without licence and contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaues the Kings Campe, and goes ouer Sea to fight with his enemy, for which the King (as againſt one that had not only contemned him, but as much as in him lay expoſed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would haue Iuſtice to proceed againſt him. Three daies the Iudges conſulted of the matter and in the end adiudged *Segraue* guiltie of death, and all his moueables and immoueables forfeited to the King. Notwithſtanding in regard of the greatneſſe of his blood, they added. Hee went not out of *England* in contempt of the King, but only to bee reuenged of his accuſer, and therefore it was in the Kings power to ſhew mercy vnto him in this caſe. The King hereto in great wrath replyed, haue you beene all this while conſulting for this? I know it is in my power

The caſe of Sir *Nicholas Segraue.*

power to conferre grace, and on whom I will to haue mercy, but not the more for your ſakes then for a dogge. Who hath euer ſubmitted himſelfe to my grace and had repulſe, but let this your iudgement bee recorded and for euer held as a Law. And ſo the Knight for example and terrour to others, was committed to priſon, though ſhortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the Kingdome. Thirty of his Peeres girt with their ſwords ſtanding out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods to bring him foorth whenſoeuer hee ſhould bee called; the King reſtored him to his eſtate. *Mat. Weſt.*

Shortly after, the King likewiſe ſends out a new writ of inquiſition, called *Trailbaſton*. For Intruders on other mens lands, who to oppreſſe the right owner would make ouer their land to great men: For *Batterers* hyred to beate men: For *Breakers* of the Peace: For *Rauiſhers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, Falſe Aſſiſors*, and other ſuch Malefactors. Which Inquiſition was ſo ſtrictly executed, and ſuch Fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much treaſure to the King. So did likewiſe another Commiſſion the ſame time ſent foorth to examine the behauiour of Officers, and Miniſters of Iuſtice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and payde dearely for it. Informers here, as fruitful Agents for the *Fiſke* (and neuer more imployed then in ſhifting times) were in great requeſt. Beſides theſe meanes for treaſure aboue ground, this King made ſome profit of certaine ſiluer mynes in *Deuonſhire*, as is to bee ſeene in *Hollingſhead*, but it ſeeme the charge amounting to more then the benefit, they afterwards came diſcontinued. The inquiſition of *Trailbaſton*.

The King likewiſe now beginnes to ſhew his reſentiment, of the ſtubborne behauiour of his Nobles towards him in times paſt; and ſo terrifies *Roger Bigod* Earle-Marſhall, as to recouer his fauour, the E. made him the heire of his lands (though hee had a brother liuing) reſeruing to himſelfe a Thouſand pounds penſion *per annum* during his life. Of others likewiſe, hee got great ſummes for the ſame offence. The Earle of *Hereford* eſcapes by death. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom hee accuſed to haue diſturbed his Peace in his abſence) hee ſends ouer to *Pope Clement* the Fift (who ſucceeded *Boniface*) that he might be cruſht with a double power. This *Pope* was Natiue of *Burdeaux*, and ſo the more regardfull of the Kings deſire, and the King more confident of his fauour; which to entertayne and increaſe hee ſends him a whole Furniſh of all Veſſels for his Chamber of cleane gold; which great griefe ſo wrought with the *Pope*, as hee let looſe this *Lyon*, vntyed the King from the couenants made with his ſubiects concerning their Charters confirmed vnto them by his three laſt Acts of Parliament, and abſolued him from his oath: an Act of little Piety in the *Pope*, and of as little conſcience in the King, who (as if hee ſhould now haue no more neede of his ſubiects) diſcouered with what ſincerity hee graunted what hee did. 1306. *Anno.* Reg. 33

But ſodainely hereupon there fell out an occaſion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him ſee his error and reforme it, finding the loue of his people lawfully ordered to be that which gaue him al his power, and means he had, & to know how their ſubſiſtances were intermutuall. The news of a new King made, and crowned in *Scotland* was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carricke*, ſonne to that *Robert* who was Competitor with *Baliol*, eſcaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confuſed body of that people, which, hauing beene ſo long without any to guide them, any intire Councell, ſcattered in power, diſunited in minde, neuer at one together, were caſt into that miſerable eſtate as they were. For had they had a King as wel as their enemies to haue led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly, that which they did in this diſtraction, ſhewes how much more they would haue done otherwiſe. And therefore no ſooner did *Bruce* appeare in his deſigne, but he effected it: had the Crowne, and hands ready to helpe him at an inſtant; and that before rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *Iohn Comyn* his Coſen german being a Titeler himſelfe, a man of great loue and Alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to haue bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whoſe Court they both had liued, and were his Penſioners. But *Bruce* (as

Bruce murthers *Iohn Cumyn in the Church.*

great vndertakers are euer awake, and ready at all houres) preuents him by ſpeede: and either to be auenged on him for his falſhood, or rid of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfraies*, ſets vpon and murthers him in the Church.

K *Edward* ſends and prepares for *Scotland.*

Which foundation laid on blood (the Place, the Perſon, and the manner making it more odious) much ſtayned his beginning, and effected not that ſecurity for which hee did it, but rayſed a mighty party in *Scotland* againſt him. King *Edward* (though ſo late acquainted heerewith, as hee could not bee before hand with him, yet would hee not bee long behind to ouertake him) ſends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrook*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a ſtrong power to releeue his Wardens of *Scotland*, who vpon his Reuolt were all retyred to *Berwicke*, whilſt himſelfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherein to be the more free, and Nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that whoſoeuer ought by their paternall ſucceſſion, or otherwiſe had meanes of their owne for ſeruice, ſhould repaire to *Weſtminſter* at the *Feaſt of Penticoſt*, to receiue the order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe.

The Peince giues the honor of knighthood to 300. Gentlemen.

Three hundred young Gentlemen, all the ſonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, aſſemble at the appointed day, and receiue Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs wrought with gold or ſiluer, according to euery mans eſtate: For which traine (the Kings houſe being too little, by reaſon a great part thereof was burnt vpon his comming out f *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple trees cut downe at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themſelues and keepe their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewiſe knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, as an ornament of that honour; and withall gaue him the Duchy of *Acquitaine*) kept his *Vigile* with his trayne at *Weſtminſter*, and the next day girds theſe three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in that manner as himſelfe receiued it. At which ceremony the preſſe was ſo great, as the Prince was faine to ſtand vpon the high Altar (a place for a more diuine honour) to performe this: Which beeing ſolemnized, with all the State and Magnificence could be deuiſed, the King before them all makes his vow, that aliue, or dead, he would reuenge the death of *Cumyn* vpon *Bruce*, and the periured *Scots*: Adiuring his ſonne, and all the Nobles about him vpon their *Fealty*, that if he dyed in this Iourney, they ſhould carry his corps with them about *Scotland*, and not ſuffer it to bee interred, till they had vanquiſhed the *Vſurper*, and abſolutely ſubdued the Countrey. A deſire more Martiall then Chriſtian, ſhewing a minde ſo bent to the world, as hee would not make an end when he had done with it, but deſignes his trauayle beyond his life.

1307 *Anno. Reg.* 34

The Prince, and all his Nobles promiſe vpon their faith to imploy their vtmoſt power to performe his Vow, and ſo vpon grant of the *Thirtieth peny of the Clergy and the Laitie*, and the *twentieth* of all Marchants, hee ſets foorth with a potent Army preſently vpon *Whitſontide* and makes his laſt expedition into *Scotland*, *Anno Reg.* 34. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, with that power ſent before, and the ayde of the *Scottiſh* party (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, being many, mighty, and egar to reuenge his death) had, before the King arriued in *Scotland*, defeited in a battell neere S. *Iohns* towne, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly miſſed the taking of his perſon: Who eſcaping in diſguiſe recouered an obſcure ſhelter, and was reſerued for more, and greater battailes: His brother *Nigell Bruce*, and ſhortly after *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a *Prieſt*, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwicke*; ſo that K. *Edward* at his comming, had not ſo much to doe as he expected. But yet he paſſed ouer the Country, to ſhew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, cauſing ſtrict inquiſition to be made for all who had beene ayding to the murther of *Cumyn*, and the aduancement of *Bruce*. Many, and great Perſonages are found out (beeing impoſſible amongſt a broken people for any to remaine vndiſcouered) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the reſt. The age of the King of *England*, his Cholar, Wrath, and deſire of reuenge made him vow inexorable, and to ſpare none of what degree ſoeuer they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall blood, and allyed vnto him) was ſent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gal-

A great execution made of the Scots.

lowes

lowes then any of the reſt. The wife of *Robert Bruce* taken by the Lord *Roſſe* is ſent priſoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monaſtery in *Lindſey*. The Counteſſe of *Boughan* that was aiding at the Coronation of *Bruce* is put into a woodden Cage, and hung out vpon the wals of *Berwicke*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exaſperates the Enemy, and addes to the party of *Bruce*, then any way quailed it: *deſperation* beeing of a ſharper edge, then *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but ſhifted priuily from place to place, in a diſtreſſed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who neuer forſooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet ſtill expectation, loue, and the well-wiſhing of his friends went with him, and ſo long as he was aliue they held him not loſt; this affliction did but harden him for future labours: which his enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or ſo downe as neuer to riſe againe) found afterwards to their coſt. For this man, from being thus laide on the ground, within few yeares after, gets vp to giue the greateſt ouerthrow to the greateſt Army, that euer the *Engliſh* brought into the Field, and to repay the meaſure of blood in as full manner as it was giuen.

All this Sommer the King ſpends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carleil*, to bee ready the next ſpring if any fire ſhould breake out, to quench it. For reſolued hee is not to depart, till hee had ſet ſuch an end to this worke, as it ſhould neede no more. And heere hee holds his laſt Parliament, wherein the State mindefull of the *Popes* late action, gotte many Ordinances to paſſe for reformation of the abuſes of his Miniſters, and his owne former exactions; who beeing but poore, ſought to gette where it was to bee had. Wringing from the elect Archbiſhop of *Yorke* in one yeare Nine thouſand fiue hundred Markes: and beſides, *Anthony* Biſhop of *Dureſme* to bee made Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, gaue him and his Cardinals mighty ſummes. This Biſhop *Anthony* is ſaid to haue had in purchaſes, and inheritances, 5000. Markes *per annum*, beſides what belonged to his Myter: which ſhewed the *Pope* the riches of this Kingdome, and mooued him to require the fruits of one yeares reuenue, of euery Benefice that ſhould fall void in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; and the like of *Abbayes*, *Priories*, and *Monaſteries*: which though it were denyed him, yet ſomething hee had; the King and hee diuiding it betwixt them. The *Pope* graunted the King the Tenth of all the *Churches of England* for two yeares: and the King yeelded that the *Pope* ſhould haue the firſt fruits of thoſe *Churches*. And the better to effect this buſineſſe, the *Pope* makes an errand, and ſends *Petrus Hiſpanus* Cardinall, a *Latere* to call vpon the King for conſummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward*, and *Iſabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got ſomething, but not ſo much as he expected.

A Parliament at *Carliel*.

The king and Pope deuide the benefit of the Cleargy.

Whileſt they were thus buſie at *Carliel*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himſelfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with ſome forces hee had gotten together, ſoddainely aſſailes the Earle of *Pembrooke* at vnawares, and gaue him a great defeit; and within three daies after chaſes the Earle of *Gloceſter* into the Caſtle of *Ayr*, where he beſieged him, till by the Kings forces, hee was driuen againe to his former retire. But this ſhewed, that ſo long as he was (in what eſtate ſoeuer he was) there would be no end of this warre.

K. *Bruce* recouers new forces.

Which cauſed King *Edward* to ſend out his firſt commandement, that whoſoeuer ought him ſeruice ſhould preſently, vpon the Midſommer after, attend him at *Carliel*. And withall he ſends the Prince to *London*, about the buſineſſe of his Marriage. In *July*, although hee found himſelfe not well, hee enters *Scotland* with a freſh Army, which he ledde not farre; for falling into a *Diſſentery*, hee dies at *Borough* vpon the ſands, as if to ſhew on what foundation hee had built all his glory in this world; hauing Raigned thirty foure yeares, ſeauen moneths, Aged ſixty eight. A Prince of a generous ſpirit, wherein the fire held out euen to the very laſt: borne and bred for action and military affaires, which hee mannaged with great iudgement: euer wary, and prouident for his owne buſineſſe: watchfull and eager to enlarge his power: and was more for the greatneſſe of *England*, then the quiet thereof. And this wee may

K. *Ed.* enters *Scotland* and dies there.

1340 *Anno.* *Reg.* 35

iuſtly ſay of him, that neuer King before, or ſince ſhed ſo much Chriſtian blood within this *Iſle of Brittaine*, as this Chriſtian warrior did in his time, and was the cauſe of more in that following.

His Iſſue.

He had iſſue by his firſt wife Queene *Elianor* foure ſonnes, whereof onely *Edward* ſuruiued him, and nine daughters, *Elianor* marryed firſt to *Iohn* Earle of *Bar. Ioan* to *Gilbert Clare*, Earle of *Gloceſter*; *Margaret* to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*. *Mary* liued a Nun in the Monaſtary of *Amsbery*, *Elizabeth* marryed firſt to *Iohn* Earle of *Holland*, after to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, the reſt died young. Hee had by his ſecond wife two ſonnes *Thomas* ſurnamed *Brotherton* which was Marſhall and Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of Edward *the firſt.*

The life and raigne of Edward *the ſecond.*

Reg. 1. *Anno.* 1307.

EDward of *Carnaruan*, remooued more then one degree from the father in heighth of Spirit, and neerer the Grandfather in flexibility, and eaſineſſe of Nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Raigne in Iuly 1307. in the three and twentieth yeare of his age. A Prince which ſhewes vs what confuſion and miſchiefe attends riot, diſorder, Neglect of the State, and aduancing vnworthy, or ill-diſpoſed Minions to the preiudice of others, the griefe of his people, and the diminution of the Royall Maieſty. And though his youth might ſomewhat excuſe the firſt ſickneſſe of his priuate Fauours, yet thoſe often Relapſes of his ſhewed it was an habituall indiſpoſition in the whole ſtate of his mind, not to be cured.

K. Ed. the firſt, impriſoned his ſon, and exiled *Pierce Gaueſton*. *Anno. Reg.* 33.

Neuer was Prince receiued with greater loue, and opinion of all, or euer any that ſooner loſt it. For his very firſt actions diſcouered a head-ſtrong wilfulneſſe that was vncouncellable: Whereof the entertaining againe his olde Companion *Pierce Gaueſton* was one, whom the Father had baniſhed the Kingdome, finding him to haue corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit any ryots: amongſt which was the breaking of the Parke of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, for which hee both impriſoned his ſonne, an exiled *Gaueſton*. Beſides this prouident King (as if fore-ſeeing the miſchiefe might inſue) at his death charged his ſonne (vpon his bleſſing) neuer to recall or entertaine *Pierce Gaueſton* againe about him, and required the Lords (who were preſent) to ſee his Will obſerued therein: which notwithſtanding, hee brake before his fathers funerals were performed; and not onely entertaines, but inueſts *Gaueſton* in the Earledome of *Cornwall*, and the Lordſhip of *Man*; being both of the demaines of the Crowne, and makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to bee reuenged on the Biſhop of *Cheſter* his fathers Treaſurer (who had abridged his expences, and complained of him for his ryot) he cauſed him to be arreſted, committed to priſon, and ſeiſes vpon all his goods, which he gaue to *Gaueſton*: makes a new Treaſurer of his owne: remooues moſt of his fathers Officers: and all without the aduice, or conſent of his Councell, which gaue them their firſt diſcontent, and bewrayed his diſpoſition.

Pierce Gaueſton recalled and preferred by the king.

A Parliament at *Northampton* held before the Coronation. The marriage of *K. Ed.* ſolemnized at *Bologne*.

Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordained, that the Monies of his Father (notwithſtanding the people held them baſe, ſhould bee current; and a Fifteenth of the Cleargy, a twentieth of the Temporalty is there granted. After the Funerals performed at *Weſtminſter*, hee paſſes ouer to *Bologne*, where his Nuptials with *Iſabel*, daughter to *Philip le Bel*, are ſumptuouſly ſolemnized, at which were preſent the King of *France*, the King of *Nauare*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queenes beſides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourſe of other Princes. At which Feaſt *Gaueſton* is ſayde to haue exceeded them all in brauery, and daintines of attire, wherewith afterward hee infected the Court of *England*. A miſchiefe the moſt contagious to breede Conſumption in a State, that can be introduced. For, the imitation thereof preſently diſtends it ſelfe ouer all, and paſſes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it.

And

And had hee done no other hurt to the Kingdome then this, it had beene enough to haue made him (as he was) odious thereunto. But beſides, hee afterwards filled the Court with *Buffons, Paraſites, Minſtrels, Players*, and all kinde of diſſolute perſons to entertaine, and diſſolue the King with delights and pleaſures. Whereby hee ſo poſſeſt him, as he regarded no other company, no other exerciſe, but continually day, and night ſpent his time, and treaſure in all wantonnes, ryot, and diſorder: neglecting the affaires of the State: and the company, and counſell of all the reſt of the Nobles: who aſſembling together (at the inſtant, when he was to be crowned with his Queene at *Weſtminſter, Anno, Reg.* 2.) *require him that* Gaueſton *might be remooued from out the Court, and Kingdome; otherwiſe they purpoſed to hinder his Coronation, at that time.* Whereupon the King to auoide ſo great a diſgrace, *promiſes on his faith, to yeeld to what they deſired in the next Parliament*; and the ſolemnity with much feſtination, and little reuerence is performed. Wherein *Gaueſton* for carrying Saint *Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggrauates the hatred of the Cleargy, and Nobility againſt him.

Gaueſton corrupts the king

The Lords diſpleaſed with *Gaueſt.*

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout *England* are at once arreſted, and committed to priſon. They were an order of Knights inſtituted by *Balduin* the fourth King of *Ieruſalem* about 200. yeares paſt, and firſt appointed for the defence of that City, and the ſafe conuaying of all ſuch as trauailed thither: afterwards they were diſperſed through all the Kingdomes of *Chriſtendome* and by the pious bounty of Princes, and others, enriched with infinite poſſeſſions, which made them to degenerate from their firſt inſtitution, and become execrably vitious. So that all the Kings of *Chriſtendome* at one inſtant (combining together) cauſed them to bee apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and eſtates. The king of *France* began, hauing a purpoſe to make one of his ſons King of *Ieruſalem*, and poſſeſſe him of their reuenues. Their accuſation followes their apprehenſion, and condemned they are (rather by fame, then proofe) in the generall Councell at *Vienna*; as appeares by the condemnatory *Bull* of *Pope Clement* the third: wherin he hath this clauſe, *Quanquam de iure non poſſumus, tamen ad plenitudinem poteſtatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus.* Their eſtates are after giuen to the *Hoſpitaliers*.

The knights Templers arreſted and committed to priſon.

Their diſſolution.

Theſe buſineſſes paſſed ouer, the Lords proſecute their purpoſe againſt *Gaueſton*, whoſe inſolency, and preſumption vpon the Kings fauour; made him ſo farre to forget himſelfe, as hee ſcorned the beſt of them all, as much as they hated him. Tearming *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* the *Stage player*: *Aymer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrook*, *Ioſeph the Iew*: and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke dogge of Ardern*: Which ſcoffes, leauing behinde them the ſting of reuenge (eſpecially where they touch) drew ſuch a party vpon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Aſſembly *humbly beſought the King to aduiſe, and treate with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the auoiding of eminent miſchiefe, likely to inſue through neglect of the gouernment*; and ſo farre vrges the matter, as the King conſents thereunto, and not onely grants them libertie to draw into Articles what was requiſite for the Kingdome, but takes his oath to ratifie whatſoeuer they ſhould conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choice men both of the Cleargy, Nobility, and Commons, to compoſe thoſe Articles. Which done, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the reſt of his Suffragans, ſolemnly pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt all ſuch who ſhould contradict thoſe Articles, which are there publikely read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the preſence of the King. Amongſt which *the obſeruation and execution of* Magna Charta *is required, with all other ordinances neceſſary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers ſhould be baniſhed the Court, and Kingdome, and all ill Councellors remooued. That the buſines of the State ſhould be treated on by the Councell of the Cleargie, and the Nobles. That the King ſhould not begin any war, or go any where out of the Kingdome, without the common councell of the ſame.*

The Lords proſecute *Gaueſton*.

1310.

Anno.

Reg. 3.

A Parliament

The king takes his oath to ratifie whatſoeuer Articles the Lords would conclude in Parliament.

Which Articles though they ſeemed harſh to the King, yet to auoide further trouble he yeeld vnto them, but eſpecially to the baniſhment of his Minion, as if that would excuſe him for all the reſt; and away is he ſent into *Ireland*, where hee liued a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Country. The King not

Gaueſton baniſhed into *Ireland.*

enduring to be without his company, neuer ceaſed working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after hee did. And to make him (as he thought) to ſtand the faſter on his feete, hee marryes him to his Neece (the daughter of *Ioan de Acres*) ſiſter to *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*, a man beloued and highly eſteemed of all the Nobility: for whoſe ſake he hoped *Gaueſton* ſhould find the more fauour amongſt them, but all this could not ſhelter him. Either his behauiour, or their malice was ſuch as they could not endure to haue him about the King, who by making him ſo great, leſſened him, and the more he was enriched, the worſe was his eſtate; The ſubiects ſpectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their ſubſtance that was ſo waſted. For it is reported, the King gaue him the Iewels of the Crowne, which he ſold to Marchant ſtrangers and conuayed much treaſure out of the Kingdome, wherby the King ſuſtained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, whereof ſhee complaines to the King of *France* her father.

Gaueſton recalled.

The Lords threaten the king.

Theſe ſtingues put the Barons on to ſend plaine word to the King, *that vnleſſe hee put from him* Pierce Gaueſton, *and obſerue the late Articles, they would all with one conſent riſe in armes againſt him, as a periured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to bee terrified) yeeldes againe vpon this meſſage to the baniſhment of his Minion: whoſe fortune beeing to haue a weake maſter, was driuen to theſe ſodaine extreamities, and diſgracefull expulſions, at their will who were his enuiers; and who now obtaine this Clauſe; *that if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome he ſhould be condemned to death as an enemy of the State. Ireland* was now no more to protect him: *France* moſt vnſafe for him (wait being their laid to apprehend him) in *Flāders* he lurks a while, but in great danger: and finding no where any ſecurity, backe againe he aduentures vpon *England*, and into the Kings boſome (the ſanctuary he thought would not bee violated) hee puts himſelfe, and there is he receiued with as great ioy as euer man could bee. And to bee as farre out of the way and eye of enuy as might bee, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithſtanding the Lords ſhortly after found him out. For no ſooner had they heard of his returne, and receiuing into grace, but they preſently combine and take armes, electiug *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* for their Leader. This *Thomas* was the ſonne of *Edmond*, the ſecond ſonne of *Henry* the third: and was likewiſe Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Ferrers*, and *Lincolne*, a moſt powerfull and popular ſubiect, with whom ioynes *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Aymer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Guy de Beaucham* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Arundel*, (With many other Barons. But *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter* the Kings Nephew, for that he would neither offend him, nor bee wanting to his Peeres, ſtands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle *Warrein* remained a while doubtfull, and fauouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* induced him to conſent with the Lords: who being thus prepared ſend to the King in the behalfe of the whole Communalty, *beſeeching him to deliuer vp vnto them* Pierce Gaueſton, *or elſe to ſend him away with his traine out of England.* The King neglecting their petition they ſet forward in armes toward the *North*. The King and *Gaueſton*, withdraw to *Newcaſtle*, and there beeing aduertiſed of the ſtrength of the Lords, they take ſhip (leauing the Queene in much griefe behinde) and land at *Scarborough* Caſtle; whereinto the King puts *Gaueſton* with the beſt forces he could prouide for his defence, and departs himſelfe towards *Warwickeſhire*.

Gaueſton againe baniſhed.

Gaueſton returnes.

The Lords take armes.

Gaueſton taken and beheaded.

The Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Warrein* ſent by the Earle of *Lancaſter* lay ſiege to the Caſtle. *Gaueſton* is forced to render himſelfe into their hands, but intreates thus much that he might be brought once more to ſpeake with the King, and then after they ſhould doe with him what they pleaſed. The Earle of *Pembrooke* vndertakes vpon his honour he ſhould, but as his ſeruants were conducting him towards the King, the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke him from them by force, and commits him to his Caſtle of *Warwick*, where after ſome conſultation among the Lords (notwithſtanding the Kings earneſt ſolicitation for his life, they condemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head.

This

This was the end of *Pierce Gaueſton*, who for that he was the firſt *Priuado* of this kinde euer noted in our Hiſtorie, and was aboue a King in his life, deſerues to haue his *Character* among Princes beeing dead. Natiue hee was of *Gaſcoine*, and for the great ſeruice his father had done to this Crowne, intertained and bred vp by King *Edward* the firſt, in companie with his ſonne this Prince, which was the meanes that inueſted him into that high fauour of his. Hee was of a goodly perſonage, of an haughty and vndauntable ſpirit, braue and hardy at armes, as hee ſhewed himſelfe in that Turneament which he held at *Wallingford*, wherein hee challenged the beſt of the Nobility, and is ſaid to haue foiled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where hee was Lieutenant during the ſhort of time of his baniſhment, hee made a Iourney into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brake and ſubdued the Rebels there, built *Newcaſtle* in the *Kerns* country, repaired Caſtle *Keuin*, and after paſſed vp into *Munſter* and *Thomond*, performing euery where great ſeruice with much valour and worthineſſe. Hee ſeemes to haue beene a Courtier which could not fawne nor ſtoope to thoſe hee loued not, or put on any diſguiſe vpon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But preſuming vpon his fortune (the misfortune of ſuch men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intollerable, which the priuacie of a Kings fauour vſually begets in their Minions, whoſe vnderſtanding and iudgement being dazled therewith, as is their ſight who ſtand and looke downe from off high places neuer diſcerne the ground from whence they aſcended. And this extraordinary fauour ſhewed to one though hee were the beſt of men, when it ariſes to an exceſſe, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indangers the health of the whole, and eſpecially if it light vpon vnworthineſſe, or where is no deſert, and commonly Princes raiſe men rather for appetite then merit, for that in the one they ſhew the freedome of their power, in the other they may ſeeme but to pay their debt.

The deſcription of *Pierce Gaueſton.*

The miſerable eſtate of Minions.

But this violent part of the Lords ſhewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the ſecond Ciuill Warre of *England*. For now hauing had their deſire in this, and finding their owne power and the weakeneſſe of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all thoſe Articles formerly granted; threatning the King that vnleſſe hee preſently performed the ſame, they would conſtraine him thereunto by ſtrong hand. Thus will Libertie neuer ceaſe till it growe licentious, and ſuch is the miſery of a State, where a King hath once loſt his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or anſwers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing meſſage they had their ſwords likewiſe ready drawne, and with ſtrong forces aſſemble about *Dunſtable* making towards *London*, where the King then lay.

The peremptory proceeding of the Lords.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Gloceſter* labour to appeaſe them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were ſent by the *Pope* to reforme theſe diſorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to Saint *Albons* and deſire conference with the Lords, who receiue them very peaceably, but their letters which the *Pope* had written vnto them, they refuſed to receiue, *ſaying they were men of the ſword, and cared not for reading of letters: that there were many worthie and learned men in the Kingdome whoſe Counſels they would vſe, and not ſtrangers, who knew not the cauſe of their commotion, abſolutely concluding, that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to intermeddle in their actions, or in any buſineſſe that concerned the Kingdome.* With which anſwer the Cardinals returne to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* ſo labour the buſineſſe as the Lords were content to yeeld vp to the King ſuch Horſes, Treaſure, and Iewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gaueſton* at *Newcaſtle*, ſo that the King would grant their petitions. And thereupon *Iohn Sandall* Treaſurer of the Kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* Keeper of the Wardrobe, are ſent to Saint *Albons* to receiue thoſe things at their hands.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Gloceſter* labour to paciſie and bring in the Lords.

Their ſubmiſſion.

1313. *Anno.* *Reg.* 5.

About this time Queene *Iſabel* is deliuered of a ſon at *Windſor* whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of *France*, would haue had chriſtened by the name of her father *Philip*, but the Nobility of *England* had him named *Edward*. And here

Queen *Iſabel* deliuered of a ſonne.

here the King keepes his Chriſtmas, feaſts the *French* with great Magnificence, and is ſaid (or rather ſuſpected) to bee euill counſelled by them againſt his Nobles, betweene whom there being ſo ill correſpondence already, any imagination ſerues to make it worſe, *Suſpicion* cauſing all things to be taken in ill part.

A Parliament.

Shortly after, a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complaines *of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their riſing in Armes, their taking and murthering* Pierce Gaueſton, &c. Whereunto with one accord they anſwer: *how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his loue and fauour, hauing taken armes not for any contempt of his Royall perſon, but to deſtroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, baniſhed before by the conſent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honour was moſt highly diſparaged, his ſubſtance, and that of the Kingdome waſted, and a moſt dangerous diſſention betweene him and his ſubiects raiſed. Whereof otherwiſe with all their labour and trauaile they could neuer haue had an end.* Beſides they tell him plainely, *they would now no longer attend vaine promiſes nor be deluded with delaies, as they had hitherto been concerning their required Articles.* Which ſtout reſolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* ſeeing, they ſeeke by all perſwaſions to quallifie their heate, and at length ſo farre preuailed with them; as to appeaſe the Kings wrath they brought them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble themſelues to the King, and to craue pardon for what they had done, which they obtained, and the King receiues them into grace, as his loyall ſubiects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gaueſton*. And for this, the State vpon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to bee one of the Kings Councell, who being a man much enuied by ſuch as poſſeſt the King, ſhortly after dies, not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

The Lords are pardoned. A fifteenth granted.

1314. *Anno.* *Reg.* 6.

King *Bruce* grows ſtrong in *Scotland*. King *Edward* goes with a mighty Armie into *Scotland*.

Whilſt the State of *England* ſtood thus diſeaſed at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of *Scotland* grew ſtrong by the prouidence of a vigilant King, who had not only ouercome the *Scottiſh* faction, and recouered the moſt of his owne Countrey, but alſo made ſpoiles on this, waſting all *Northumberland* in ſuch ſort, as King *Edward* wakened with the out-cries of his people and the great diſhonour of the kingdome, is drawne to take armes for redreſſe thereof, and enters *Scotland* with the greateſt Armie that euer yet went thither, conſiſting as the *Scottiſh* writers report of 100. thouſand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gaſcoines*, *Welſh*, and *Iriſh*, who in imagination had deuoured the Country before they came thither, and thought not of Battailes, but of deuiding the prey. Beſides the King had with him moſt of the Nobilitie, and eſpeciall men of *England*, except *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warrein* and *Arundell*, who refuſed to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foreſaid Articles.

The Caſtle of *Sterling* is the peece that is to bee releeued, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Philip Moubray* a valiant Knight, who ſeeing the daily ſucceſſe of *Bruce*, had manned and victualed the ſame for many moneths. Neere to this place vpon the Riuer *Bannocke* is incountred this great Armie of *England* of *Bruce*, with 30. thouſand *Scots*, a ſmall number ſay their writers, in reſpect of their enemies: but as men hardened with daily vſe of warre and domeſtical euils, fierce and reſolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, eſtate, and whatſoeuer was deare vnto them. The aduantage of the ground was theirs, hauing behinde vnacceſſable Rocks to defend them, before a Mooriſh vncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of ſharpe ſtakes, and couered them ouer with hurdles, ſo that the footmen might paſſe ouer ſafely without impediment, but it ſo confounded the Horſe, as it gaue the *Scots* the day, and the greateſt ouerthrow to *England* that euer it receiued. There periſhed in this Battaile (called of *Bannocks Bourough*) *Gilbert* the laſt *Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*, a maine Arch of the State of *England*, and *Robert* Lord *Clifford* the Nobleſt of our Barons, with the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *Marſhall*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Maule*, and 700. Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen of ſort: of common ſouldiers, theirs ſay fiftie thouſand, ours ten: taken priſoners

The battell of *Bannocks Borough*.

The deſeit of the *Engliſh*.

ſonnes *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Ralph de Morthelmere* (who married *Ioan de Acres*, Counteſſe *Dowager* of *Gloceſter*) with many others: the King and thoſe who were preſerued eſcaped by flight.

This defeit put *Scotland* both into *Armes* and *Wealth*, ſo that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and diſcouraged ſo much this kingdome for many yeeres as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great reuenge. King *Edward* vpon his comming backe to *Yorke* ſhewed a great deſire to repaire this diſhonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and ſit downe by their loſſe. The poore Borderers haue the worſt of it, and become ſo deiected as 100. of them would flie from three *Scots* ſaith *Walſingham*. To ſuch a ſodaine faintneſſe are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which ſhould giue them ſpirit, are ill affected.

This diſtaſter (as miſchiefe neuer comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought forth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Peſtilence, all which exceeded any that euer before had beene knowne. A Parliament is called at *London* vpon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of victuals, which ſodainely grew to bee exceſsiue. And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with graſſe ſhould be ſold for fixteene ſhillings, fatted with corne for twentie ſhillings, the beſt Cow for twelue ſhillings, a fatte Hogge of two yeeres old three ſhillings foure pence, a fatte Sheepe ſhorne fourteene pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fatte Gooſe for two pence halfe penny, a fatte Capon two pence, a fat Hen a penny, foure Pigeons a penny, whoſoeuer ſold aboue ſhould forfeit their ware to the King. Heere ſeemes then to haue beene no Calues, Lambes, Goſlings, Chickins, yong Pigges, to be ſold, thoſe dainties were not yet in vſe.

A Parliament at *London*. 1315. *Anno. Reg.* 8.

Rates for victuals.

After theſe rates impoſed, all kinde of victualls grew more ſcarce then before, and ſuch a Murre followed of all kinde of Cattell, with a generall falling of all fruits of the earth, by the exceſsiue raines and vnſeaſonable weather, as prouiſion could not be had for the Kings houſe, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their Tables (ſuch a iuſt puniſhment had Exceſſe and Ryot inflicted thereon in thoſe daies) in ſo much as men put away their ſeruants in great numbers, who hauing beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, ſcorning to begge, fell to Robberie and ſpoyle, which addes more miſerie to the kingdome. Three yeeres this affliction held, and was attended with ſo great a Peſtilence and generall ſickneſſe of the common ſort, cauſed by the ill nutriment they receiued, as the liuing ſcarce ſufficed to burie the dead.

A Death which laſted 3. yeeres. 1317. *Anno. Reg.* 10

Notwithſtanding could all this extinguiſh the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one miſchiefe or other brake out, to hold in and increaſe the ſame. The wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* is taken out of his houſe at *Canford* in *Dorcetſhire*, by one *Richard* Saint-*Martin*, a deformed Dwarffe (as hee is deſcribed) a follower of the Earle *Warrein*: claiming her for his wife, and auowing how hee had layne wieh her before ſhe was married to the Earle, which the Lady her ſelfe to her perpetuall ignomy, and the ſhame of honour, voluntarily auerred. This baſe creature claimes by her the Earledomes of *Lincolne*, and *Salisburie*, whereunto ſhee was heire; Which with out being ſupported by great Abbettors, hee would neuer haue preſumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which beeing in ſo tender & reſerued a buſines as marriage, added much to his other violations of order: and gaue occaſion and hardineſſe to inferiour perſons to reprooue his courſes as may bee noted by this paſſage. Being at the celebration of the feaſt of Pentecoſt at dinner in the open Hall at *Weſtminſter*, a woman fantaſtically diſguiſed enters on Horſe-backe, and ryding about the Table deliuers him a letter, wherein was ſignified the great neglect hee had of ſuch as had done him, and his father noble ſeruices, taxing him for aduancing men of vnworthie parts, &c. which letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore being ſharply reprehended for ſuffering her to enter in that manner, excuſed themſelues, alleadging, it not to be the faſhion of the Kings houſe in times of feſtiuals to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make ſport. Search beeing made for this woman, ſhee is found

The wife of the Earle of *Lancaſter* taken out of his houſe at *Canford*.

The king aduertiſed of his errors.

found and examined who ſet her on. Shee confeſſed a Knight gaue her money to doe as ſhee did. The Knight is found, and vpon examination boldly confeſſed, he did it for the Kings honour and to none other end, and eſcapes without further adoe.

The miſerable affliction of the Borderers.

Thus while the North parts were not only infeſted with the *Scots*, but likewiſe by ſuch of the *Engliſh* as vnder colour of vſing ayde for reſiſtance, robbed and ſpoiled all where they came, to the miſerable vndoing of the people. Beſides *Robert Bruce* now abſolute King of *Scots*, ſends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof he got a great part, and the title of a King, which he held three yeeres. Thus all things went ill, as euermore it doth in diſſolute and diſſentious times wherein the publike is alway neglected.

A reconciliation betweene the King and the Nobles. A new occaſion of trouble.

But theſe miſchiefes abroad was the occaſion that a reconciliation betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaſter* is made by the mediation of two Cardinals vpon ſuch conditions as were ſoone after vniuſtly broken by the King. A Knight is taken paſsing by *Pomfret* with letters ſealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots* about murthering the Earle, which Meſſenger is executed, his head ſet vpon the top of the Caſtle, and the letters reſerued to witneſſe the intended plot. Which whether it were fained or not, the report thereof caſt an aſperſion vpon the King, and wonne many to take part with the Earle. After this, vpon an inuaſion of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Yorke*, a Parliament is aſſembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinals, and Cleargie of *England* yeelds, faithfully to obſerue all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe againſt the *Scots*. *London* ſets foorth 200. *Canterbury* 40. Saint-*Albons* 10. and ſo of all Cities and Boroughes according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leauied. Which comming to *Yorke*; through mutinie, emulation, and other impediments was diſſolued, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

1318. *Anno.* *Reg.* 11. A Parliament at *London*.

The next yeere after vpon the rendering vp of *Berwicke* to the *Scots* by the treaſon of *Peter Spalding* who had the cuſtodie thereof; the King of *England* raiſes an Armie and beleagers it: the *Scots* to diuert his forces, enter vpon *England* by other waies, and were like to haue ſurpriſed the perſon of the Queene lying neere *Yorke*. The ſiege notwithſtanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great poſsibility to haue regained the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaſter* with his followers withdrawne himſelfe vpon diſcontent, hearing the King ſay, how hee would giue the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger, who was now growne an eſpeciall Minion (the ſucceſſor both of the Office, and priuate fauour of *Gaueſton*) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

1319. *Anno.* *Reg.* 12 The L. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger ſucceeded *Gaueſton* in the office of Lord Chamberlaine.

Thoſe of *Yorke* and the Countrie adiacent hauing receiued ineſtimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Armie of 10000. men, and incounter them at *Milton* on *Swayle*; but being not well ledde, nor experienced they receiued the deſeit, with the loſſe of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified and ſeeing all things to ſucceede ill with him, concludes a truce with the *Scots* for two yeeres, and againe returnes with diſhonour from thoſe parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame ariſes from a ſmall ſparke, and tooke beginning vpon this occaſion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, hauing in his licentious age, waſted his eſtate, offers to ſell vnto diuerſe men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regard the land lay neere his, obtaines leaue of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the ſame. The two *Rogers Mortimers*, Vncle and Nephew, great men likewiſe in thoſe parts, not vnderſtanding it ſeemes any thing of the former bargaine, Contract alſo for the ſame land, with the ſaid Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger hearing of this ſale, and the land adioyning to part of his, obtaines a more eſpeciall leaue of the King, being now his Chamberlaine, and buyes it out of all their hands.

1321. *Anno.* *Reg.* 14 Another occaſion of reuolt.

The Earle of *Hereford* complaines himſelfe to the Earle of *Lancaſter* (the refuge of all diſcontented men) who at *Sherborn* enters into a Confederation with diuers Barons there aſſembled, taking their oathes intermutually to liue and die together, in maintaining the right of the kingdome, and to procure the baniſhment of the

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two *Spencers* father, and ſonne, whom they now held to be the great ſeducers of the King and oppreſſors of the State, diſpoſing of all things in Court at their will, and ſuffering nothing to be obtained but by their meanes: Which the State accounted a miſchiefe moſt intollerable and grieuous vnto them, ſeeing all graces and diſpatches were to paſſe out but at one doore, whereby the Kings benignitie and power is diminiſhed, the Kingdome diſhonoured, all corruptions introduced to the ouerthrow of Iuſtice and good order.

The Lords oppoſe the *Spencers*.

And vnder this pretence they take Armes, wherein themſelues proceed not in that euen way of right as they made ſhew, but follow the fury of their willes, beeing once out and aſtray, they ſeize vpon, and make ſpoile of the lands and goods of thoſe perſons they proſecuted, and all ſuch as had friendſhip and affinitie with them, killing their ſeruants and diſpoſing their Caſtles at their pleaſure. And comming armed thus to S. *Albons* they ſend to the King, reſiding then at *London*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chicheſter* (who were there aſſembled to conſult for peace) *requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realme to rid his court of thoſe Traitors the* Spencers, *condemned in many Articles of high Treaſon, by the Communalty of the Land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all ſuch as tooke part with them, and that for no offences paſt or preſent they ſhould hereafter be puniſhed.* The King returnes anſwer, *That* Hugh Spencer *the father was beyond the Seas imployed in his buſineſſe, and the ſonne was guarding the Cinq;-Portes according to his office, and that it was againſt Law and Cuſtome, they ſhould be baniſhed without being heard. Moreouer that their requeſt was voide of Iuſtice and Reaſon, for that the ſaid* Spencers *were euer ready to anſwer to all complaints made againſt them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L L. could proue they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to ſubmit themſelues to the triall thereof. And beſides ſwore he would neuer violate the oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardon to ſuch notorious offenders who contemned his perſon, diſturbed the Kingdome, and violated the Royall Maieſtie.* Which anſwer ſo exaſperated the Lords as preſently they approach to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbes till they obtained leaue of the King to enter into the Citie: Where they peremptorily vrge their demands; which at length by mediation of the Queene and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condiſcend vnto, and by his Edict publiſhed in *Weſtminſter* Hall, by the Earle of *Hereford*, are the *Spencers* baniſhed the Kingdome. *Hugh* the father keepes beyond the Seas, but the ſonne ſecretly hides himſelfe in *England* expecting the turne of a better ſeaſon. The Lords (hauing thus obtained their deſire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with ſuch ſecuritie, as they gaue ouer the prouiſion for their owne defence.

And take Armes.

The king excuſes the *Spencers*.

Denies the Lords their demands.

The Lords come armed to *London*.

The King yeelds vnto them.

The Earle of *Hereford* publiſhes the kings Edict in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

Shortly after, there fell out an vnexpected accident that ſuddainely wrought their confuſion. The Queene who had euer beene the nurſe of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her progreſſe towards *Canterbury* was diſpoſed to lodge in the Caſtle of *Leeds*, appertaining to the Lord *Badleſmere* (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and ſending her Marſhall to make ready for her and her traine, they who kept the Caſtle told him plainely, that neither the Queene or any elſe ſhould enter there, without letters from their Lord. The Queene her ſelfe goes to the Caſtle, and receiues the like anſwer, whereupon ſhe is driuen to take ſuch lodging other where as could be prouided. Of which indignitie ſhe complaines to the King, who tooke it ſo to heart, as preſently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he layes ſiege to the Caſtle, takes it, hangs the keeper, *Thomas Culpeper*, ſends the wife and children of the Lord *Badleſmere* to the Tower, and ſeiſes vpon all his goods and treaſure. And hauing this power about him, and warmed with ſucceſſe and the inſtigation of the Queene, ſodainely directs his courſe to *Ciceſter* where hee kept his Chriſtmas, and there prouides for an armie againſt the Barons, whereof many (ſeeing the Kings power increaſing) left their aſſociates and yeeld themſelues to his mercy, amongſt whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes, the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithſtanding, contrary to their expectation, were ſent to diuers

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The Lords withdraw into the North parts, and are ouerthrowne.

diuers priſoners. The Earles of *Lancaſter* & *Hereford* ſeeing this ſodaine change withdrew themſelues and their companies from about *Gloceſter* towards the North parts. The King followes them with his Army wherein were the Earles of *Athol* and *Angus*, and at *Burton* vpon *Trent*, where they had made head, diſcomfited their forces and put them all to flight. Whereupon ſeeking to eſcape they retire further North, and at *Burrough Brigs* are encountred by Sir *Simon Ward* Shriefe of *Yorke*, and Sir *Andrew Harckley* Conſtable of *Carleil*, who (after the Earle of *Hereford* was ſlaine in ſtriuing to paſſe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of *Lancaſter*, with diuerſe other Lords and brought them to *Pomfret*, where the third day after, the King ſitting himſelfe in iudgement with *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* his brother, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Earle *Warrein*, *Hugh Spencer*, lately created Earle of *Wincheſter* and others, Sentence of death is giuen againſt *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, by drawing, hanging, and beheading as a traytour. The two firſt puniſhments are pardoned in regard he was of the royall blood, and only beheaded he was the ſame day without the towne of *Pomfret* before his owne Caſtle. And by the like iudgement were condemned the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warrein Liſle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Maudit*, *Henry Bradburne*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William* Lord *Cheyny*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Ioſeline* Lord *Danyll*, all which were executed at *Yorke*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawne, hangd and quartered at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*, the Lords *Badleſmere*, and *Aſhburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Gloceſter*; principall men in principall places, to ſpread the more terrour ouer the Kingdome. All their eſtates and inheritances are confiſcated, and many new men aduanced by the ſame. And this is the firſt blood of Nobility that euer was ſhed in this manner in *England*, ſince *William* the firſt, which beeing ſuch, and ſo much as it was, opened veines for more to follow, and procured a moſt hidious reuenge, which ſhortly after inſued. Thus is the beame of power turned, and Regalitie (now in the heauier ſcale) weighes downe all.

The execution of the Earle of *Lancaſter*, with diuers other Lords in diuers places.

The firſt of any Earle or Baron of *England* that euer was executed vpon Scaffold, or otherwiſe, ſince the time of *William* the firſt.

The Kings ill ſucceſſe in *Scotland*.

1323. *Anno Reg.* 16

And preſently vpon this Maſter-worke, the King both to buſie the minds of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilſt the terrour thereof laſted, marches from *Yorke* with a mightie hoaſt (but ſmall prouiſions) into *Scotland*. Where, the *Scots* conuaying themſelues and all ſuccours out of his way, put that want vpon him, as confounded his great Armie without blowes, forcing him to returne with much diſhonour. And hauing paſſed farre within his owne Countrie, they aſſayled him at vnawares, and had like to haue taken his perſon, as well as they did his treaſure with the Earle of *Richmond* (with whom hauing miſerably ranſackt all the Countrie ouer, euen to the walles of *Yorke*, they returne loaden with mightie ſpoyles ſafe into *Scotland*; and this was the ſucceſſe of this vnfortunate King (not borne for triumphes) in his third *Scottiſh* expedition.

And now being at leiſure, in a calmer humour it ſeemes, hee began to haue a ſenſe of the Execution of the Earle of *Lancaſter*, which hee diſcouers vpon this occaſion. Some about him making earneſt ſute to grant a pardon to one of the Earles followers (a man of meane eſtate) and preſsing him hard thereunto, hee falles into a great paſſion, exclayming againſt them as vniuſt and wicked Councellors, which would vrge him ſo to ſaue the life of a moſt notorious varlet, and would not ſpeake one word for his neere kinſman the Earle of *Lancaſter*: who ſaid he, had he liued might haue beene vſefull to mee and the whole kingdome; but this fellow the longer hee liues the more miſchiefe he will commit, and therefore by the ſoule of God, hee ſhall die the death hee hath deſerued. Sir *Andrew Harckley* who was the man which tooke priſoner the Earle of *Lancaſter* at *Burrough Brigges*, beeing aduanced for his ſeruice to the Earledome of *Carliel*, inioyed his honour but a while: for the next yeere after, either thruſt out into diſcontent, by the *Spencers* enuying his high preferment, or combyning with the *Scots*, allured with the hope of a great March (as he was accuſed) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hangd and quattered at *London* for treaſon, and remaines amongſt the examples of ſodaine downefalles from high places, vnder an inconſtant and ill gouerning Prince.

The Earle of *Carleil* degraded and executed.

Occaſion

1324. *Anno.* *Reg.* 17

A Parliament

Occaſion drew on a Parliament to conſult, amongſt other important buſineſſes concerning the Sommons lately ſent to King *Edward*, from the new King of *France Charles de Bel* (who ſucceeded his brother *Philip de Long*) to come and doe his homage for *Gaſcoigne*, and it was by the common conſent of all decreed that the King ſhould not goe in perſon at that time but ſend ſome ſpeciall men to excuſe or deferre his appearance.

Beſides in this Parliament, the King required a Subſedie both of the Cleargie and Laity, for the redemption of *John Brittaine* Earle of *Richmond*, lately taken priſoner by the *Scots*. *But it was denied and alleadged that no contribution ought of right to be made but for the redemption of the King, the Queene or Prince*, and ſo nothing was there gotten but more diſpleaſure: The Biſhop of *Hereford* was arreſted, and accuſed of high treaſon before the King and his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refuſed to anſwere (being a conſecrated Biſhop) without leaue of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe *Suffragan* hee was (and who hee ſaide was his direct Iudge next the *Pope*) or without the conſent of the reſt of his fellow Biſhops, who then all aroſe and humbly craued the Kings clemency in his behalfe; but finding him implacable they tooke away their fellow Biſhop from the Barre, and deliuered him to the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, till ſome other time the King ſhould appoint for his anſwer to what he was charged withall. Shortly after hee was againe taken and conuented as before, which the Cleargy vnderſtanding, the Archbiſhops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, and *Dublin* with ten other Biſhops, all which with their Croſſes erected went to the place of Iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men vpon paine of excommunication to forbeare to lay violent hands on him, with which audacious act the King was much diſpleaſed, and preſently commanded inquiry to bee made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning thoſe obiections againſt the Biſhop, wherein he was found guilty, though abſent, and had all his goods and poſſeſſions ſeiſed into the Kings hands.

The King is denyed a Suſidie.

The Biſhop of *Hereford* accuſed of treaſon.

He refuſed to anſwer.

The B. taken from the Bar.

The B. being abſent is condemned *ex officio*.

This act loſt him the Clergy, and added power to the diſcontented party, which was now growne to bee all in generall, except the *Spencers* and their followers, who inriched with the ſpoyles of the Barons, gouerned all at their pleaſure, ſelling the Kings fauours, and ſhutting him vp from any others, but where they pleaſed to ſhew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they preſume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and leſſened he houſhold traine, which was the rock wheron they periſhed.

The preſumption of the *Spencers*.

The proceeding of the King of *France* againſt the King of *England* for the omiſsion of his *homage*, was growne ſo farre, as that all his territories there, were adiudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance ſeiſed on by the *French*, whereupon *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother is ſent into *Gaſconie* but to little effect, the King of *France* was before hand, his power ready and his people in thoſe parts yeelding that way where they ſaw moſt force. So that, either the King of *England* muſt goe in perſon to appeaſe this trouble, or ſend his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwiſe all was there in danger to be loſt. For the Kings going in perſon, the *Spencers* held it vnſafe both for him, and them, if hee ſhould leaue his kingdome at home in ſo great, and generall diſcontent as then it was. Wherefore the Queene with a ſmall traine is ſent ouer to accomodate the buſineſſe, which ſhe negotiates ſo well, as all quarrels ſhould bee ended vpon condition the King of *England* would giue to his ſonne *Edward* the Duchy of *Aquitaine* with the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, and ſend him ouer to doe *homage* for the ſame, which after many conſultations the King is wrought to yeeld vnto.

The Earle of *Kent* ſent into *Caſcoine*.

The Queen is ſent to accomodate the buſineſſe of *France*.

The Prince is ſent with the Biſhop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of the King of *France*, where he was moſt welcome to his mother, who herein had her deſire, and being wholly bent to reuenge (whereof none are ſaide to bee more eager then women) found there, beſides her great party in *England*, thoſe who nouriſhed that humour in her amongſt whom was chiefe *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmer*, lately eſcaped out of the tower of *London*, a gallant young Gentleman whom ſhee eſpecially fauoured.

The Prince is ſent to do his Homage for the Duchy of *Aquitaine*.

The Biſhop of *Exceter* diſcouers the queenes plots. The queene proclaimed enemy to the kingdome.

fauoured. The Biſhop of *Exceter* perceiuing ſome plots to bee in hand, and their cloſe conſultations made without him, withdrawes ſecretly from thence, and diſcouers to the King ſo much as hee obſerued of their courſes. The King ſends preſently for the Queene and Prince, ſoliciting withall, the King of *France* to haſten their returne, which when hee ſaw was neglected and delayed, hee cauſed them openly to bee proclaimed enemies to the kingdome, baniſhed them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall cauſes all the Ports to be ſtrongly kept, and ſends three Admirals to attend on ſeuerall coaſts to oppoſe their landing.

The queene returnes with forces.

The Queene to inflame her the more is informed of a plot laid to murther her, and the Prince: and eyther doubting how much the money of *England* might worke in thoſe ſhould be tempted therewith, or elſe finding little forwardneſſe in her brother to ayde or countenance her courſe againſt her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of *Haynault* beeing then a Prince of great meanes, and likewiſe Earle of *Holland*, to whoſe daughter *Phillippa* ſhe contracts her ſonne the Prince, and gets ayde and mony of him to tranſport her into *England*. Arriuing at *Harwich* with the Prince, the Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother (whom ſhe brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earle of *Pembrook*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *Iohn* brother to the Earle of *Heynault* with 2500. *Henowayes* and *Flemings*, ſhee was receiued with great ioy and concourſe of all the diſcontented Nobility and others: and eſpecially by the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, who ſoone reſorted vnto her, as men who had loſt, to recouer their fortunes.

1326 *Anno.* *Reg.* 19

The king demands ayde of the citie of *London*.

The King, vpon notice of this ſodaine and ſafe arriuall of the Queene, demands aide of the City of *London*, which returnes anſwer, *That they would with all duty honour the King, Queene, and Prince, but their gates they would ſhut againſt all forreiners and traytors to the Realme, and with all their power withſtand them*. The King with his ſmall Councell about him repoſing no aſſurance in this anſwere (after Proclamation made that none, vpon paine of death, ſhould ayde the Queene, and commandement giuen to deſtroy all her adherents, onely her owne perſon, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of *Kent* excepted, and that whoſoeuer brought the head of *Roger Mortimer* ſhould haue 1000. pounds) hee leaues the City, committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *Iohn Weſton* with the gard of his yonger ſon *Iohn* of *Eltham*, and his Neece the Counteſſe of *Gloceſter* (firſt wife to *Pierce Gaueſton*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: a Lady vnfortunate by the ouer great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the Weſt, hoping to finde ayde in thoſe parts as formerly he had done againſt the Barons, but he ſaw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The king departs towards the Weſt. The queene followes. 2. kings 24

The Queene aduertiſed of his courſe marched after him (growing dayly greater as ſhe marched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Biſhop of *Hereford* preached before her and the whole aſſembly, and deliuers the cauſe of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head aketh, My head aketh*: and concludes moſt vndeuinely, that an aking, and ſicke head of a Kingdome, was of neceſſity to bee taken of, and not otherwiſe to be cured. A moſt execrable doctrine, and repugnant to the ſacred Word, which in all corrupted times is euermore produced, to abuſe mens *Credulity* and iuſtifie *Impiety* in whatſoeuer *Ambition* or *Malice* ſhall attempt: a ſinne beyond all other that can bee committed vpon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was noiſed two Cardinals were ſeene in her Campe, ſent by the Pope to excommunicate ſuch as tooke Armes againſt her, and the cauſe of hers to be for the deliuering the kingdome from the miſleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be ſafe. And here proclamation is made, *that nothing ſhould bee taken from any ſubiect without paying ready money*, and a penalty impoſed on whomſoeuer did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to looſe a finger, ſixe pence the hand, twelue pence the head, and that whoſoeuer brought to the Queene the yonger *Spencers* head ſhould haue 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cauſe defended with ſhew of Iuſtice, and an vnnaturall preſumption made to ſeeme right by power and authority: An impotent woman led with paſſion, and abuſed by wicked counſell is brought to make head againſt her owne head, to conduct an innocent ſome againſt the

The queenes Proclamation

the father; to vndertake an action ſhe knew not how to manage, and to put her ſelfe into their hands, who hauing other ends then hers, would worke beyond, though vnder her authority, what pleaſed themſelues. And though the euent (as commonly it doth in ſuch attempts) prooue worſe then the intention of the vndertaker; yet howſoeuer, the infamy of all what was acted lyes foule and open vpon her Memory, and no Apologie extant any way to couer it, and therefore we muſt leaue the ſame as wee finde it. And better had it beene for the honour of the ſtate of *England* to haue beene without her great dowre, then to haue had her example, the worſt of a Queene it euer yet had. The miſerable King hauing his reputation (the maine ſupport of Maieſtie) blowne vp with the hurlewinde of his purſuers, found few or no hands to ayde him: So that, after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the father into the Caſtle of *Briſtoll*, with what defence could be prouided for the guarding thereof; he leaues to truſt the Land, and commits himſelfe to a more vnfaithfull Element, the Sea, with purpoſe eyther to hide himſelfe a while in the Iſle of *Lundie*, or to paſſe ouer into *Ireland*; but toſt to and fro with contrary winds (after Sir *Thomas Blunt* his ſteward with others were ſhrunke from him) he lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan ſhire*; where, though he found not ſafety hee found loue and was hidden in the Abbey of *Neth*.

The king betakes him to the Sea.

The Queene with her Army from *Oxford* goes to *Gloceſter*, where the Lords *Percy* and *Wake*, with ayde from the *North*, met her; and thence to *Briſtoll*: aſſailes and winnes the Caſtle: puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer* Earle of *Wincheſter*, without forme or tryall of Law: cauſing him to be drawne, and hanged, on the common gallowes in his Coate armour, cutte vp before hee was dead, headed, and quartered. This done, ſhee paſſes to *Hereford*, and the King beeing not to bee found, Proclamation is made, that if hee would returne and conforme himſelfe to rule the State as hee ought to doe, hee ſhould come and receiue the gouernment thereof, by the generall conſent of his people. But hee, eyther not daring (as deſtitute both of courage and counſell) to truſt to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keepes himſelfe ſtill concealed. Whereupon (as may ſeeme was intended) aduantage is taken to diſpoſe of the gouernment, and the Prince who is now vnder their gard, is made Gardian of the Kingdome, hath *Fealty* ſworne vnto him, and a new Chancelor, and Treaſurer, are appointed.

Hugh Spencer the father hanged at *Briſtoll*.

Long it was not ere the King came to be diſcouered as a perſon too great for any couer, and was by *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* brother to the late *Thomas*, *William* Lord *Zouch* and *Ries ap Howell* taken and conuayed to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer* with *Baldocke* the Chancelor, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are ſent to the Queene to *Hereford*, *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Gloceſter*) is drawne, and hanged on a gallowes fifty foote high (wherein hee was exalted aboue his father, otherwiſe had the like execution) and likewiſe in his Coate armor, whereon was written *Quid gloriaris in malitia. Pſal.* 52. *Simon Reading* was hanged ten foote lower then he: But *Baldocke* in regard he was a Prieſt, had the fauour to be pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewiſe a little before was the Earle of *Arundell* with two Barons, *Iohn Danyll*, and *Thomas Micheldeuer* executed as Traytors by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

The king taken priſoner.

To accompany theſe miſchiefes of the Countrey, the Commons of *London* made inſurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King to take their part, let out all priſoners, poſſeſſes them of the Tower, put to death the Conſtable thereof, Sir *Iohn Weſton*, murther the Biſhop of *Exeter* to whom they bare an eſpeciall hatred, for that beeing the Kings Treaſurer hee cauſed the Iuſtices Itenerants to ſit in *London* by whom they were grieuouſly fyned, and thus all is let out to liberty and confuſion.

A Parliament at *London* where the Prince is elected king.

After a moneths ſtay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her ſonne returning kept Chriſtmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemas at *London*, where the Parliament beeing aſſembled agreed to depoſe the King, as vnfit to gouerne (obiecting many Articles againſt him) and to elect his eldeſt ſonne *Edward*: which they did in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, with the vniuerſall conſent of the people there preſent, and the

1327. *Anno.* *Reg.* 20

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* makes a ſermon vpon this text, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, exhorting the people to inuoke the King of Kings for him they had there choſen.

The Queene, eyther out of the conſideration of the difference of a husband and a ſonne whom now ſhee was not like long to guide) or through remorſe of conſcience looking backe vpon what ſhee had done, takes this election grieuouſly to heart, inſomuch as her ſonne to recomfort her, ſwore hee would neuer accept of the Crowne without the conſent of his father, whereupon by a common decree, three Biſhops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of euery Shire with a certaine number of Burgeſſes of euery City and Borough, and eſpecially of the Cinque-Ports, are ſent to the impriſoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare vnto him election of his ſonne, and to require the renuntiation of his Crowne and royall dignity, whereunto if hee would not conſent, the State was reſolued to proceede as it thought good. The King beeing firſt priuately made acquainted with the Meſſage (the moſt harſh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom hee eſpecially hated (for hauing eſpecially offended them) the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* was brought foorth before the aſſembly; to whom as ſoone as his paſſion (wherewith hee was ouercharged, would giue him leaue) hee confeſſed, *how hee had beene miſguided (the common excuſe of a poore ſpirit) and done many things whereof now hee repented, which if hee were to gouerne againe, hee would become a new man, and was moſt ſorrowfull to haue ſo much offended the State, as it ſhould thus vtterly reiect him*, but yet gaue them thankes that they were ſo gracious vnto him, as to elect his eldeſt ſonne for King. Hauing ſpoken to this purpoſe, they proceede to the Ceremony of his reſignation (which chiefly conſiſted in the ſurrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, beeing the firſt that euer was ſeene in *England*, they could follow no precedent but muſt make one, and *William Truſſell* a Iudge put it into the Stile of Lawe to render it the more authenticall, and pronounced the ſame in this manner. *I* William Truſſell *in the name of all men of the Land of* England, *and of all the Parliament Procurator, reſigne to thee* Edward *the Homage that was made to thee ſometime, and from this time forwards now following, I defie thee and priue thee of all my royall power, and I ſhall neuer be tendant on thee as King after this time.* This was the laſt act and the firſt example of a depoſed King, no leſſe diſhonorable to the State then to him. He was a Prince more weake then euill, and thoſe exorbitances of his met with as great or greater in his people, who as we ſee, dealt ouer roughly and vnciuilly with him. Hee is reported by ſome to haue beene learned (which perhaps might make him the ſofter) to haue written verſes when he was in priſon: to haue founded *Oriall Colledge*, and *Saint Mary Hall in Oxford.*

The king is brought to reſigne his Crowne.

The forme of his reſignation.

His iſſue.

He had by his wife *Iſabell* two ſonnes, *Edward* borne at *Windſor*, who ſucceeded him, and *Iohn* ſurnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earle of *Cornewall*, *An.* 1315. and dyed in the flower of his youth in *Scotland.* And alſo two daughters, *Ioan*, married to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Elianor* to the Duke of *Gelders.*

The end of Edward *the ſecond.*

The life and raigne of Edward the third.

1327 *Anno.* *Reg.* 1.

VPon the reſignation of *Edward* the 2. *Edward* his ſon of the age of 14. yeeres, began his raigne the 20. of Ianuary, 1327. and ſends forth Proclamations of his peace into all ſhires, in this form. Edward *by the grace of God, king of* England, *lord of* Ireland, *duke of* Aquitaine, *to N. N our ſherife of S. greeting. Wheras the lord* Edward, *late king of* England *our father, by the common councell and aſſent of the prelates, earles, barons, and other chief men, with the whole comminaltie of this realme, did voluntarily amoue himſelfe from the gouernment thereof, willing and granting that we as his eldeſt ſon and heire ſhould aſſume the ſame, &c.* which proclamation made to palliat a wrong did but the more diſcouers it. Within 5. daies after he was crowned at *Weſt.* by *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: at which ſolemnity the Q. made ſhew of great ſorrow & heauineſſe

neſſe, but beeing after pacified by the inlargement of her Ioynture (which tooke vp three parts of the Kings reuenewes) ſhee began to bee of better cheere. Twelue eſpeciall men are here appointed to manage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fit yeares to gouerne of himſelfe: The Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, *Thomas Brotherton* Earle Marſhall, *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, *Iohn* Earle *Warrein*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, *Oliuer* Lord *Ingham*, and *Iohn* Lord *Roſe*; but the Queene and *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* vſurped this charge, and tooke all wholly to themſelues. And to buſie the preſent and vphold this *Change*, and expedition inſtantly is vndertaken for *Scotland*, wherin (thoſe ſtrangers ſtill retained which the Queene brought ouer with her) are imployed vnder the conduct of the Lord *Iohn Beaumont* brother to the Earle of *Hayna.lt*, and at *Yorke* the whole Army were to meete, where the *Engliſh* (being not all of a party) quarrell with thoſe ſtrangers, and ſo great a conflict aroſe betweene them as coſt ſome blood and was hardly appeaſed, an ill preſage of that iourney.

The Queene hath her ioinˈture inlarged. Twelue eſpecial men choſen for the gouernment. An expeditiō into *Scotland*.

At *Stanhop* Parke the *Engliſh* Army incounter the *Scottiſh*, and though the *Engliſh* were thrice greater, and might preſently haue vanquiſhed them, yet by the treaſon of ſome great men (as it was bruited) they eſcaped all away, and nothing was done; ſo that the young King borne for victories, was depriued the honour of his firſt action, which yet, beeing not conducted by his owne Spirit, was held more diſhonourable to others then to him. Vpon their returne, all the *Hannowayes* and Stipendaries are ſent home into their owne countries.

The *Scots* retyre from *Stanhope* Parke, and nothing done

During this buſineſſe the depoſed King remaines priſoner at *Killingworth*, with the allowance of 100. markes a moneth for his expences, depriued of all thoſe comforts the world ſhould yeeld him. His wife whom hee loued (though now the author of all his miſery) ſends vnto him letters and apparrell, but excuſes her comming as being not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought ſafe enough where hee was, nor ſo ſtraitly lookt vnto, as they deſired to haue him, being in the cuſtody of his Vnckle the Earle of *Lancaſter*; And therefore they commit him to other guardians, and men of the moſt rough natures could be found, the Lord *Matreuers* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence remooued him to the Caſtle of *Berckley* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where long hee ſtaid not, but was conueyed to *Corſe* Caſtle, and thence to other places vp and downe to beguile and diſappoint his friends, by the vncertainety of his being, if any plot were laid (which they doubted) to reſtore him. Beſides to diſguiſe him the more, and that hee might not be eaſily knowne, they ſhaue his *head* and *beard*, which as a ſeruant of his Sir *Thomas de la More*, a Knight of *Gloceſterſhire* reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of *Gourney* who moſt barbarouſly cauſed the miſerable King to ſit on a Mole-hill whileſt the Barber ſhaued him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to waſh him withall, which the patient King (ſaith this Reporter) ſeeing, told them, *That yet in deſpight of them he would haue warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall ſhed aboundance of teares. Other vile reproaches this ſauage Iaylor put vpon his annointed Soueraigne, as he re-conueyed him backe to *Berckley* Caſtle, where ſhortly after hee, and *Matrevers* cauſed him to be murthered in a moſt hideous manner by thruſting vp a hot Iron into his bowels thorow an hollow inſtrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bewray how hee came by his death: For the body being after laid foorth, and vewed by many ſubſtantiall Citizens of *Briſtoll* an *Gloceſter* (called thither for that purpoſe) they could finde no ſigne eyther of wound or poyſon, ſo that their euidence confirmed the report that was giuen out, how he dyed of extreame griefe. This was the end of *Edward* the 2. within eight months after his depoſing.

The miſerable eſtate of the impriſoned king.

He is murthered at *Barkley* Caſtle.

The deed-doers *Matreuers* and *Gourney* though they had commiſſion and great hopes giuen them to doe as they did, yet beeing by thoſe who were aſhamed to vow it, they durſt not abide the triall, but as Fugitiues fled preſently their Countrey: *Gourney* three yeares after was taken at *Merſeilles*, and murthered on the ſea before he came to *England*, that hee might tell no tales who ſet him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deed coſt, the iudgement of God fell heauily, not onely vpon the great

contriuers, but euen vpon the whole Kingdome : and what the iſſue of this preſent Prince, whoſe throne (though without his guilt) was thus ſet vp on his fathers blood, ſuſtained in after times, the many imbrued Scaffolds, the diuers bloody fields, the infinite ſlaughters in the ciuill diſcord of their diuided families, which the conſumed race of the moſt part of all this preſent Nobility will teſtifie. But now for the preſent, the authors of this change vſe all meanes to increaſe and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilſt the State in generall receiues no great ſatisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not anſwered in that manner as they were conceiued. The Queene mother and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amiſſe in the gouernment is now attributed to them and their councell : So that diſcontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

1328. *Anno. Reg.* 2.

The Kings marriage with *Phillippa* of *Haynault* is ſolemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a diſhonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match between *Danid Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, ſonne to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* ſiſter to the King of *England*, which match by reaſon of the tender age of the Prince, beeing but ſeauen yeeres old, could promiſe little good. Beſides by the ſecret working of the Queene Mother, the Earle of *March*, and Sir *Iames Douglaſſe*, *The King ſurrenders by his Charter his title of Soueraignty to the Kingdome of Scotland, reſtores diuers deedes, and inſtruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous euidence called the* Ragman Roole, *and many ancient Iewels and Monuments amongſt which was the* Blacke Croſſe of Scotland, &c. *Moreouer any Engliſhman is prohibited to hold lands in Scotland, vnleſſe he dwelt there.* In conſideration whereof *King Bruce was to pay* 30 *thouſand Marks*. Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother to the late depoſed King, is accuſed and condemned vpon his confeſſion, for intending the reſtoring of his brother, and conferring with diuers great men concerning the ſame, but without any matter of fact. This miſerable Earle ſtood on the ſcaffold from one till fiue, and no executioner could be found to diſpatch him, at length a ſilly wretch of the *Marſhalſey* cut off his head.

A Parliament at North.

A diſhonorable peace made with *Scotl.*

These violences and vnpleaſing courſes in a new alteration, could not long holde without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parliament is helde at *Nottingham* wherein all the power and glory of the Queen and *Mortimer* (being ſcarce of three yeares growth) were ouerthrowne; the Queene all hath her great Ioynture taken from her, and put to her penſion of 1000. pounds *per annum*, *Mortimer* is accuſed *to haue procured the late Kings death; to bee the authour of the Scots ſafe eſcaping from Stanhope Parke, corrupted with the gift of twenty thouſand pounds : to haue procured the late* marriage, *& peace with Scotl. ſo diſhonourable to the King and Kingdome: to haue conſumed the Kings treaſure, beſides all what was taken from the* Spencers, *to haue beene too familiar with the Queene, &c.* And for theſe hainous offences is condemned of high treaſon, ſent vp to *London*, drawne and hanged at the common Gallowes at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious ſpectable for all beholders. Such were the tragicall and bloody returnes, thoſe ambitious ſupplants of others, got by exchange of the times, which now, may ſeeme, made the world weary of ſuch violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more Ability to gouerne of himſelfe, wrought a greater reſpect of his ſeruice in thoſe who were of power about him, ſeeing him to bee of a ſpirit likely to goe through with his worke, and therefore they vſe their beſt aduice to put him into courſes that might be moſt honourable for him and the Kingdome. The ſtaines which his youth had receiued by ſuch as gouerned the ſame, are now diſcouered, and meanes deuiſed how to take them of. And withall, occaſions fall out to put him into Action.

A Parliament at *Nottingham*

Articles againſt *Mortimer.*

He is hanged at Tyburne.

And firſt a new King of *France* lately crowned (vpon the death of *Charles de Bel* without iſſue Male) requires his homage according to the cuſtome for the Duchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *France* held of that Crowne : whereunto though King *Edward* was ſuppoſed to haue the better right, yet ſeeing *Philip de Valois* was now in poſſeſsion of the ſame, and himſelfe then y ong, his owne Kingdome factious, turbulent and

King *Edward* is ſummoned to do his homage to *Philip de Valois* K. of *France.*

and vnſettled, he was not as yet otherwiſe then by Law (which ſeldome gets a Crown) able to debate his title; and therefore is content to temporiſe, and goe ouer in perſon to performe this ceremony, which did much preiudice his after claime, laide an imputation vpon the iuſtneſſe of his cauſe, hauing thereby acknowledged and made good the right of his Competitor.

The difference betweene them ſtood thus: *Philip le Bell* father to *Iſabell*, Mother to King *Edward*, had three ſonnes, *Louys*, *Philip*, and *Charles* which all were ſucceſſiuely Kings of *France*, and died without any iſſue male to inherite the kingdome, and notwithſtanding *Louys* the eldeſt ſonne had a daughter, whom *Eudes* Earle of *Bologne* her vncle by the mother laboured to haue crowned Queene, yet for that it was adiudged contrary to the *Salicq; Lawe*, which debarred women from the ſucceſsion, *Philip* the yonger brother of *Louys* is admitted to the Crowne. This *Philip* likewiſe left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother ſucceede him by the force of the ſame law (which paſſed now as a caſe adiudged) without any controuerſie. *Charles* dying leaues his wife yong with childe: difference ariſes about the *Regencie* of that kingdome, betweene King *Edward* of *England* the Nephew, and *Philip de Valois*, Cozen-german to the laſt King *Charles*. This *Philip* was the firſt Prince of the blood, ſonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Philip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer then hee, yet was the *Regencie* adiudged to *Philip* (if the Queene brought forth a ſonne) as deſcending from a brother more capable of the Crowne then King *Edward* deſcending from a daughter that was vncapable, as they alleadged.

The Title of King *Edward* to the crowne of *France*.

The Queene at length deliuered of a daughter the proceſſe is ended, and *Philip* receiued and crowned King of *France*, by their *Salicq; Law*, maintained to bee vnviolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a ſpeciall meanes of his preferment, and the excluſion of King *Edward*, who ſhortly after vpon Sommons giuen (as is afore ſaid) goes ouer and meetes King *Philip* at *Amiens*; where, by the Councels of both Kings, two eſpeciall points are debated, *the one concerning the quallity of the Homage, pretended liege by the Councell of King* Philip, *but denied by that of King* Edward. The ſecond point, *for the lands in* Guiene, *which the laſt King* Charles *had detained as his, whereof the Councell of King* Edward *demanded reſtitution, as appertaining to that Duchy*. The Compoſition for this laſt point was eaſie, in regard of the treatie of *Peace* made betweene the ſaid King *Charles* and *Edward* the ſecond, the laſt of *May* 1325. wherein their rights were ſaued by proteſtations, reciprocall, aduiſed and receiued in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the ſaid King *Charles* by this *Edward* before hee was King, which proteſtations were agreed to bee followed and repeated in this, with Couenant that if King *Edward* would purſue his right in Parliament, hee ſhould haue iuſtice done him accordingly for thoſe things in controuerſie. Now for the firſt point concerning the quallitie of his Homage, it was accorded without ſpecifying the ſame, that it ſhould be done and receiued according to the vſuall manner of former kings, with ſufficient time granted to King *Edward* to inquire of the ſaid quallitie, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereupon the ſixt of *Iune* 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimſon veluet gowne imbroydered with *Leopards*, with his Crowne on his head, his ſword by his ſide, and golden ſpurres on his heeles, preſents himſelfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at *Amiens* before King *Philip*, ſitting in his chaire of eſtate in a veluet gowne of violet colour, imbroydered with floures *de lis* of gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viſcount *Melun* Chamberlaine of *France*, firſt commands King *Edward* to put off his Crowne, his ſword, and his ſpurres and to kneele downe, which hee did on a crimoſine veluet cuſhion before King *Philip*, and then the Viſcount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage which were theſe: *You become Liegeman to the King my maſter here preſent as Duke of* Guyene *and Peere of* France, *and you promiſe to beare* faith *and* loyalty *vnto him. Say yea, and King* Edward *ſaid, yea, and kiſſes the King of* France (*as the Lord of the Fee*)

1331. *Anno. Reg.* 5.

Iean Tillet. King *Edward* doth Homage to the *French* King.

The forme of the Homage.

in

in the mouth, the like Homage hee then did for the Earledome of *Ponthieu*.

This act of ſubmiſsion performed in the perſon of a King, yong, actiue, hauty, and powerfull, who held himſelfe wronged in doing it to whom he did, bred that rancour in his heart, as it had beene better for all Chriſtendome that Ceremony had beene ſpared at this time, and not ſo punctually beene exacted by King *Philip*; whom their own Hiſtorians blame for ſtanding ſo much vpon his Regalitie, with one as mighty as himſelfe, and more able and likely to ſhake his new gotten Throne then any other whatſoeuer: to whoſe paſsion conſidering the fiery heat of his youth, he ſhould rather haue miniſtred *Oyle* then *Vineger*, and more hoſpitably intertained him in his Court, comming with that State and Magnificence, as he did, attended with the beſt of all the kingdome of *England* to ſhew what he was, and to beget a reſpect of his high eſtate. But theſe are the errours of improuident Princes, who carried with the ſway of their owne will, imbroyle themſelues and their ſubiects, that euer ſuffer the worſt and are ſure to pay dearely for others faults.

King *Edward* returnes out of *France* intertaines the *Scottiſh* buſineſſe.

And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde ſwolne for reuenge, the King of *England* returnes to ſettle his affaires at home, where *Scottiſh* buſineſſes fall out to intertaine him. The late peace concluded with them is held ſo diſhonourable, as it muſt not hold, and to breake the ſame, followed an occaſion begun vpon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King (the affliction of kingdomes (with the emulation and factions in great men, put *Edward Balliol* ſonne to *Iohn Balliol* (ſometime King of *Scotland*) thirtie two yeeres after his fathers depoſition, to attempt the recouery of that Crowne: and out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, hee comes by the ſolicitation of his friends into *England*, where hee was permitted vnderhand to get ayde, and had all ſuch *Scots* and *Engliſh* who were of the faction againſt *Bruce* to take his part, and with them he ſodainely aſſailes thoſe who had the gouernment of that kingdome during the nonage of the yong King *Dauid* (beeing at that time with the King of *France*) and ouercame them in a battaile, with the ſlaughter of many Noble men, and thouſands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But his party being not ſo potent as they could maintaine and defend his quarrell againſt all thoſe which oppoſed it, he was forced notwithſtanding this great defeit, to retire him into *England* to get more ayde of King *Edward*; who now ſhewes himſelfe in the action, ioynes with *Baliol* againſt his brother in law King *Dauid*, goes in perſon with a ſtrong Army to recouer *Berwicke*, which after three moneths ſiege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was againe taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the reſcue thereof at *Halidowne hill* vtterly defeited: where were ſlaine ſeuen Earles, 900 Knights and Baronets, foure hundred Eſquires, and about two and thirty thouſand common ſouldiers, as our writers report, theirs, foureteene thouſand. And with the effuſion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miſerable kingdome.

Edward Balliol comes out of *France* deteited his oppoſers and is crowned king of *Scotland*.

Berwicke recouered.

The battell of *Halidown* hill.

In this oppugnation of *Berwicke*, though my haſte bee great, I muſt not ſo much treſpaſſe vertue as to ouerpaſſe one memorable particular, recorded by the *Scottiſh* writers, which is, how the Lord *Seton* ſeeing all reliefe failing, and the aſſaults violent, as hee could not long holde out, conditions with King *Edward*, if reſcue came not at ſuch a day to render him vp the towne: and for aſſurance deliuers him two of his ſonnes. Shortly after King *Edward*, hauing notice of the *Scottiſh* Army approaching with greater power and ſpeed then hee expected, and likely to be there before the day, *ſummons the Lord* Seton *to render the towne preſently, otherwiſe he ſhould ſee his two ſonnes executed before his face*, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within ſight of the towne, the yong Gentlemen brought forth and vnder the hand of the Executioner; wherewith the diſtreſſed Lord, rent betweene thoſe powerfull paſsions of Nature and Honour, ſtanding doubtfull what to doe, his wife the mother of thoſe ſonnes, a Lady more then a woman, comes vnto him, exhorts him *to remember his Fealty ſworne to the King, his Charitie to his Country, the dignitie of his noble Familie, that they had other children left though theſe were deſtroyed, and beſides themſelues were not ſo olde, but that they might haue more. How thoſe, if they ſhould bee preſerued from death at this*

A memorable act in the oppugnation of *Berwicke*.

this time might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion: And what a staine he should lay on the name of Seton, *and their posteritie for euer, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed vnto him: whereby also he was not certaine whether he should preserue his children or no: for how could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last. And therefore besought him that he would not preferre an vncertaine and momentary benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignominy.* And so recouering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the walles, into some other parts aside, that he might not be Spectator of the execution of his innocent children.

The next yeere after this defeit at *Hallidown* Hill, *Edward Baliol* King of *Scots* at *Newcastle* doth Homage to the King of *England* as his superiour Lord, and takes his oath of *Fealty, Binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successors for euer with the inheritance of fiue Countries next adioyning to the Borders.* So large a part yeelds hee to forgoe, rather then to bee in danger to loose the whole, which yet could not secure his estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which most part of the Nobles of *Scotland* conceiued vpon this act of Alienation, and subiection of their Countrey. Insomuch as it gaue both Kings, continuall occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite treasure. There was granted to the King of *England* for these warres a *fifteenth* of the *Temporaltie*, a a twelfe of Cities and Boroughes, and a tenth of the Clergie, in a Parliament holden at *London*. And three yeeres together the King goes in person with armies into those parts, and neuer returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: in so much as it may mooue vs to admire, how it could be possible that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battaile within these fiftie yeeres past, and yet still to bee able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintaine their owne quarrels, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt vpon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deseruing to haue had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to haue shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

1333. *Anno.* *Reg.* 7. *Edward Baliol* doth Homage for the Kingdome of *Scotland.* A Parliament holden at *London.*

A remarkable consideration.

The reason that mooued King *Edward* with such violence to prosecute the businesse of *Scotland* was out of a desire, so to settle the same, as he might be wholly for the designes he had vpon *France*, which chiefly hee intended, and was the sooner put thereinto by the instigation of *Robert de Artois*, who beeing chased from thence by King *Philip* his brother in Law, comes ouer into *England*, and is heere intertained with great honour.

1336. *Anno.* *Reg.* 10

This *Robert* a Prince of the blood of *France* descended from *Robert* sonne to *Louys* the eighth, brother to S. *Louys*, had long contention with *Maud* his Aunt Countesse of *Burgogne* about the Earledome of *Artois*; and presuming vpon his owne power, his alliance with King *Philip* who had married his sister, and the seruice he had done in aduancing him to the Crowne, counterfeits a *Deede* thereby to ouerthrow his Aunts right, which being afterward discouered, made it the more, and mooued the *French* King to giue iudgement on her side, so that the County of *Artois* was by arrest of Parliament, confirmed vpon *Maud*, which so offended *Robert*, as in his rage, hee openly said, *Hee would vnmake the King by the same power hee made him*: Which rash menace vttered before many witnesses so stung the *French* King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but fayling therein, causes him to bee proclaimed Traitor, confiscates all his estate, forbids his subiects whosoeuer, either without or within the Kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receiue him, comfort, counsell or ayde him, vpon paine of confiscation of body and goods: and withall charges them by any meanes to seise vpon his person, and to send him prisoner vnto him. Whereupon this chased Prince finding no place on that side safe for him, ouer hee comes into *England*, is ioyfully entertained by King *Edward*, made of his Councell, inuested in the Earledome of *Richmond*, and heere is he the *Kindle-fire* betweene these two mighty Nations, and began such a flame, as lasted aboue an hundred yeeres after

Robert de Artois discontented with the *French* King.

Iean Tillet.

Robert de Artois comes into *England.*

ter, and the ſmoake thereof much longer. Firſt hee diſcouers to King *Edward* the ſecret of their Councels at *France*, and what meanes had beene vſed for the aduancement of King *Philip*, whoſe title he now diſapprooues, and prefers that of King *Edward*, as more iuſt: and a declaration is publiſhed and ſent to the Pope and all the Neighbour Princes ſhewing the vſurpation of *Philip de Valois* vpon that Crowne.

Vid. Apend.

Now had King *Edward* euer ſince his returne from *Amiens* prepared to make good his party to oppoſe the *French* King, and by the aſsiſtance of his Father in law *William* Earle of *Haynault*, combined with the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Geldres*, the Earle of *Iuliers*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Valeran* his brother, *John* of *Haynault*, and other Princes of *Germany*. And beſides, had of late obtained by great gifts of *Louys de Bauier*, the preſent Emperour, to be Vicar Generall of the Empire, whereby hee was to haue all thoſe Princes confiners vpon *France*, who held of the ſame, to doe him ſeruice. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that he had ſtood for him againſt his competitor *Fredericke* of *Auſtrich*, with whom the *French* King tooke part; and beſides he had married King *Edwards* wiues ſiſter, which might be a motiue to procure him this honour. Then ſeekes he to gaine and draw in the *Flemmings*, whoſe Earle though adhering to the *French* King as his Vaſſall; yet the Cities which euer entertained a kinde of liberty among themſelues, were eaſily wonne to take part with King *Edward*, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the woolles of this Kingdome, which by a Parliament holden at *London*, *Anno Reg.* 9. were prohibited to be tranſported vnwrought. *That Clothes ſhould be made here, and habitation with all Priuiledges and Liberties allowed to ſuch Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabite.* Beſides it was enacted, *That none ſhould weare other then Engliſh Cloath, except the King, Queene and their Children, that no man ſhould weare any facing of ſilkes or furres, but ſuch as could diſpend* 100. *pounds, per annum.* But thoſe ordinances (more beneficiall to this Kingdome then theſe warres will be) were vpon this new entertained correſpondence with the people of *Flanders*, ſoone after neglected: but yet the making of cloath continued, and many come out of *Flanders* to exerciſe that trade in *England*.

King *Edward* made Vicar generall of the Empire.

The making of cloath introduced in this kingdome.

The firſt ſumptuary Law we finde in our Hiſtory.

Now there was among the *Flemmings* one *Iaques de Artevile*, Citizen of *Gaunt*, a Brewer as ſome ſay (but of more then Beere) a man of greateſt eſtimation amongſt the people, and was as their Tribune or Chiefetaine in their tumults, him King *Edward* gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to aſſaile the *French* King vpon any occaſion.

King *Edward* winnes *Iaques de Artiuile.*

Hauing thus prepared his party abroad, all meanes are deuiſed to raiſe monies at home to ſupply this buſines. *The tenth peny of Townes and Boroughes, a fifteenth of others, & a tenth of the Clergie is granted in a Parliament at Northampton. All ſuch treaſure as was committed to Churches throughout England for the holy warre is taken out for the Kings vſe in this. The next yeere after, all the goods of three orders of Monkes, Lombards, Cluniacqs and Ciſtercences are likewiſe ſeiſed into the Kings hands: and the like Subſidie as before, granted at* Nottingham. *Honours are likewiſe beſtowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this entended action. Henry* of *Lancaſter* the yonger, is created Earle of *Derby*, *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisburie*, *Hugh Audeley* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *William Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, *William Bohun* Earle of *Northampton*, *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*: Prince *Edward* was likewiſe at this time created Earle of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornewall*. *In Anno Reg.* 12. at a Parliament at *Northampton* (as ſome write in the abſence of the King) *was granted by the Laytie, one halfe of their woolles, but of the Clergie was leuied the whole, and they were cauſed to pay nine Markes for euery ſacke of fine wooll. The next yeere after a fifteenth was likewiſe paide in wooll by the Communaltie.* And now for the better managing of his worke abroad (hauing well accommodated the *Scottiſh* affaires) hee goes ouer into *Flanders*, takes with him his Queene and children, lies at *Antwerp*, where, by perſwaſion of the *Flemmings* he tooke vpon him the Style, Title, and Armes of the King of *France*, whereby they held they might the better iuſtifie their partaking in his quarrell, and diſpence with their oath formerly made to the *French* King, hauing beſides bound themſelues in 20. hundred thouſand crownes neuer to beare Armes againſt the King of *France*, and thereupon the league was eſtabliſhed

Meanes vſed for money. *Vid. Apend.*

1338. *Anno.* *Reg.* 12

A Subſidie of Wooll.

King *Edward* goes into *Flanders* with his wife and children.

bliſhed betweene them and King *Edward*. The *French* King was not behind in his preparations and confederacies, hauing to take his part the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of *Rhene* (who couenanted to ſerue him againſt King *Edward* and his adherents, with 300. horſe for 56000. *Florins*) The Biſhop of *Mets*, *Albert* and *Otho* Dukes of *Auſtrich*, *Theodore* Marqueſſe of *Monferat*, *Amè* Earle of *Geneua*, beſides many Princes of Eſtate, and diuers great Captaines out of *Germany*, *French-County*, *Sauoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spaine* and other Countries. So that all the beſt of the Chriſtian World, are either in Armes, or ayding in this quarrell, betweene theſe two mightie Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyſe before they came to grapple; and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of *Sicile*, a great *Aſtrologer*, who deuined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to *France*, to haue accorded them, which would not be.

The *French* Kings partakers.

Meanes to appeaſe theſe two kings.

The Preface of this warre began on the Borders of each others State: On this ſide King *Edward* ſets vpon *Cambray* defended by the *French*. *Philip* on the other, ſeiſes on the Duchie of *Guyen*, and thither ſends *Conte d' Eu* Conſtable of *France* with the Earles of *Foix* and *Arminiacq*, who ſurprize many ſtrong peeces thereof: Beſides he hath a great Nauie at Sea which committed much ſpoile on the coaſt of *England*. King *Edward* enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, approaches neere to King *Philip*: Both Armies were lodged betweene *Viron foſſe* and *La Flamenguere*, the day of the fight appointed vpon the Friday after, the Battailes on both ſides made ready, the aduantage of number was on the *French*; But both Armies furniſhed with braue men of warre, and circumſpect, depart without incounter: The *French* eſteeming it no diſcretion to put the perſon, and ſtate of their King to the hazard of Battell within his owne Kingdome: And the *Engliſh* conſiſting of leſſe number, thought fit not to aſſaile them: and ſo they paſſed the day in Countenances, and nothing was done. Onely this accident fell out, which after gaue matter of ſport: A Hare ſtarting before the head of the *French* Army, a great ſhot was ſuddainely made, which they who were behind ſuppoſing to haue beene vpon the on-ſet of a Battell, diſpoſed themſelues to fight: ſome *Eſquires* for their more incouragement, are according to the cuſtome preſently Knighted, who were euer after called *Knights of the Hare*.

The *French* king ſeiſes on the Duchy of *Guyen*.

King *Edward* enters into *France*.

Froiſſart.

Knights of the Hare.

The next morning earely both Kings diſlodge, the *French* retires to *Paris*, the King of *England* into *Brabant*, where after he had ſtrongly faſtened his confederates, and diſpoſed of his affaires, hee leaues the Queene and returnes into *England* about Candlemaſſe, hauing beene in *Brabant* aboue a yeere, lands at the Towre about Midnight (and finding it vnguarded was much diſpleaſed) ſends for the *Maior* of *London*, whom he commanded to bring before him the *Chancelor* and *Treaſurer*, with *Iohn S. Paul Michael Wath*, *Philip Thorp*, *Henry Stratford* Clergie men (who it ſeemes were officers for his receipts) and *Iohn Sconer* Iuſtice of the Bench, all which, except the Chancellour were arreſted and committed to priſon, as were afterward in like manner diuerſe officers of Iuſtice and Accomptants vpon inquirie made of their vniuſt proceeeding.

1330. *Anno.* *Reg.* 14

Then cals he a Parliament at *London* in Lent *which granted vnto him for cuſtome of euery ſacke of Wooll, Forty ſhillings, for euery* 300. *Woolfells, Forty ſhillings for euery laſt of Leather, Forty ſhillings: and of other Merchandizes according to that rate*, the ſame to indure from that *Eaſter* to the *Whitſontide* Twelue-moneth after. Beſides, there was granted *of Citizens and Burgeſſes, a ninth part of Goods, of Forrain Merchants and other a fifteenth, of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaffe, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lambe for two yeeres.* Alſo *another tenth of the Clergie.* And for his preſent ſupply, hee hath Loanes of diuers wealthy *perſons, and the Citie of* London, *lent* 20000. *Markes.* For the grant of which mighty Subſidie, the King (*beſides his Pardon to diuers kinds of offenders*) *remits all Amercements for tranſgreſſion in his Forreſts, Reliefs, and ſcutage vnto the firſt time of his going into* Flanders: *Beſides all Aydes for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his raigne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrerages both of his Fermors and others any way due, in the time of his Progenitors, and his owne, till the tenth yeere of his raigne* (*excepting ſuch as were compounded for, and determined to be paide into his Exchequer*) *and here he likewiſe confirmes the great Charter.*

A Parliament at *London*. Great Subſidies granted. Cuſtome, at firſt but temporarie.

Pardons and Remiſſion of ancient debts.

Retribution.

During

The Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* taken priſoners in *France.*

During King *Edwards* aboade in *England*, *William Montague* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, left in *Flanders* to oppoſe the proceeding of the *French*, hauing performed diuers great exploits with happy ſucceſſe, and preſuming ouermuch vpon their fortune, were in an incounter about *Liſle*, ſo ouerlaide by multitude, as they were both taken and ſent priſoners to *Paris*, to the great ioy of the *French* King: who now to impeach the King of *Englands* returne, had prepared a mightie Nauie in the Hauen of *Sluce*, conſiſting of 200. Saile of Ships (beſides many Gallies) and two thouſand armed men in the Port, ready to incounter him vpon his landing: Whereof King *Edward* being aduertiſed, prouides great ſtrength, with the like number of ſhips, and ſets out to Sea vpon *Midſommer Eue*, is met the morrow after with a Nauie likewiſe from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and incounters his enemy which lay to intercept him, with ſuch force and courage, and aduantage of winde and Sunne, as hee vtterly defeited their whole Nauie, tooke or ſuncke all their ſhips, ſlew 30. thouſand men, and landed with as great glory, as ſuch a victorie (the greateſt that euer before was gotten by the *Engliſh* at Sea) could yeeld. Moſt of the *French*, rather then to endure the Arrowes, and ſharpe ſwords of the *Engliſh*, or be taken, deſperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the *French* Kings Ieſter, ſet on to giue him notice of this ouerthrow (which being ſo ill newes, none elſe willingly would impart on the ſuddaine) ſaid, and oftentimes re-iterated the ſame, *Cowardly Engliſhmen, Daſterdly Engliſhmen, Faint-hearted Engliſhmen.* The King at length asked him *Why*: For that ſaid he, *They durſt not leape out of their ſhips into the Sea, as our braue French-men did.* By which ſpeech the King apprehended a notion of this ouerthrow: which the *French* attribute to *Nicholas Buchet* one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his ſhips with men of baſe condition (content with ſmall pay) and refuſed Gentlemen, and ſufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens that the *Auarice* of Commanders haue beene the occaſion of great defeits.

King *Edward* vanquiſhes the *French* Kings great Nauie.

Iean Tillet.

But this loſſe much abated the power of the *French* King, who notwithſtanding in theſe *Martiall times* was ſoone ſupplyed, both out of his owne Dominions, and theſe of his Confederates, and makes a mightie head againſt this victorious, powerfull and freſhly furniſhed King of *England*; who ſuddainely ſets downe before *Tourney*, with all his owne and his adherents forces. And from *Chyn* (a place neere-by where hee lodged) ſends his *Cartell* the 17. of *Iuly*, to *Philip de Valois*, lodging at S. *Andrew les Aire* with his puiſſant armie. Declaring *how he with the power of his owne Kingdome, and ayde of the Flemmings, was come to recouer his right in the Kingdome of France vniuſtly detained from him, contrarie to the Lawes of God and Man: and that ſeeing no other meanes would ſerue, hee was forced in this manner to haue recourſe to his ſword. Notwithſtanding ſeeing the buſineſſe was betweene them two, he offers for the auoiding of Chriſtian blood, and deuaſtation of the Countrey, to trie the ſame by combate in cloſe Campe, body to body, or each of them accompanied with 100. choyce perſons: which if the ſaid* Philip *refuſed, then to ſtrike battell within ten daies after, before the Citie of* Tourney.

King *Edward* beſieges *Tourney*, and ſends his Challenge to the *French* King.

Philip de Valois returnes anſwer the laſt of *Iuly* in this manner, Philip *by the grace of God King of* France, *to* Edward *King of* England: *Wee haue peruſed your letters ſent to the Court of* Philip de Valois, *containing certaine requeſts to the ſaid* Philip: *and for that it appeares thoſe letters and requeſts were not written or made vnto vs, we will in no ſort anſwer you. But ſeeing by thoſe letters, and otherwiſe we vnderſtand how you, ledde by wilfulneſſe, without all reaſon, haue entred our Kingdome of* France *with armed power, and committed no ſmall dammage in the ſame, and on our people, contrary to the dutie of a Liegeman: hauing lately ſworne homage vnto vs, acknowledging vs, as by right King of* France, *and haue promiſed that obedience which is due from the Vaſſall to his Liege-Lord, as is manifeſt by your letters Patents vnder your great Seale, which we haue with vs, and you likewiſe ought to haue the ſame with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chace you out of our Kingdome, as we firmely hope in Chriſt (from whom we haue our power) to doe. For that by this your warre, moſt wickedly begun, our Iourney vndertaken for the Eaſt is hindred, no ſmall number of Chriſtians there murthered, the holy ſeruice neglected, and the Church diſhonoured. And whereas you alledge you poſſeſſe the ayde of the Flemmings, wee are aſſuredly*

The *French* kings anſwer to the Challenge.

aſſuredly perſwaded, that they with the Communalty of their Country, will ſo beare themſelues towards our Coſen their Earle and vs their ſuperiour Lords, as they will not omit to obſerue their honour and fidelity, whatſoeuer hath beene by ſome, through ill counſell perpetrated for their owne priuate, contrary to the common good.

The French write how King *Philip* with this Letter ſent word to King *Edward, how by his Cartell he aduentured nothing of his owne, but onely expoſed the dominion of another, which was without all reaſon. If he would hazard the kingdome of* England, *(though it were leſſe) againſt the kingdome of* France, *the ſaid King* Philip *would enter combate in cloſe camp with him, on condition the Victor ſhould enioy both kingdomes.* But that, they ſay, King *Edward* would not doe.

Three moneths the ſiege of *Turney* had continued (and nothing effected but the waſte of the Countrey about) all the eyes of Chriſtendome bent vpon this action, both kingdomes, deepely ingaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull euent thereof, when *Iane de Valois* ſiſter to *Philip*, widow of *William* late Duke of *Haynault*, and mother to *Philippa* wife to King *Edward*, a Princeſſe of excellent vertue, came from *Fountenelles* where ſhe had rendered her ſelfe a Nun vowed to God, to mediate a peace betweene theſe two inraged Kings, her brother and her ſonne in law: and labours to ſtay the ſword of deſtruction lift vp for blood, trauailing from one to the other (ſtubbornly bent to their intentions) and neuer left them (though often denied) till ſhe had with great patience, and wiſe counſell qualified their boyling paſsions, in ſuch ſort as ſhee obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, eſpecially in ſuch an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one yeare, and both theſe great Armies are diſſolued. The French king returnes home, and ſo doth the King of *England* with his Queene: who had remained in thoſe parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two ſonnes, *Lionell*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *Iohn* borne at *Gant*, who firſt was Earle of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Lancaſter*.

A medation for peace.

A Truce concluded.

Anno. *Reg.* 35

But King *Edwards* condiſcending to this ſudden truce, had indeed no other motiue then the want of his ſupplies of treaſure, which came ſhort to his expectation, notwithſtanding thoſe mighty impoſitions which were laide on his ſubiects. And whereas hee had vpon his laſt returne into *England*, in great diſpleaſure, remooued his Chancellor, and impriſoned his Treaſurer, with other Officers (moſt of them Cleargymen) and ſtill held them in durance, *Iohn Stratford* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, (on whom the King laid the blame of his wants) writes him a moſt bolde and peremptory Letter to this effect: firſt ſhewing him *how it was for the ſafety of Kings and their kingdomes, to vſe graue and wiſe Counſailors, alledging many examples out of holy Writ of the flouriſhing happineſſe of ſuch as tooke that courſe, and their infelicity who followed the contrary. Then wills him to remember how his father led by euill counſell vexed the kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the lawe of the Land, diuers of the Nobility, and wiſhed him to conſider what happened thereby vnto him. Alſo to call to minde, how himſelfe at firſt, through euill counſell about him, had almoſt loſt the hearts of his people.* But afterwards, *by the great circumſpection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into ſo good order as hee recouered them, and now poſſeſſed them in ſuch ſort, as they all, both Cleargy and Lay, haue yeelded their helping hands, more to him then to any of his Progeniters, whereby he had glorioufly triumphed ouer his enemies, the* French *and* Scots, *and is reputed the nobleſt Prince of Chriſtendome. But now at this preſent, through the wicked counſell of ſuch as effect their owne profit more then his honour, or the welfare of his people, hee had cauſed Cleargie men and others to bee arreſted, and held in priſon by vndue proceeding, contrary to the lawes of* England *(which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to obſerue)* and againſt *Magna Charta*, which whoſoeuer ſhall preſume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according *to the Bull of Pope* Innocent *the fourth*) *Excommunicate. So that heereby hee incurred no ſmall danger to his ſoule, and detriment to the State and honour.* Then hee telleth him, *how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he ſhould loſe both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould not bee able to proſecute his warre in hand, and thereby giue his enemies heart and occaſion to riſe againſt him,*

Iohn Strat- Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his letters to king *Edward.*

to the hazard of his honour and the kingdome. And therefore aduiſes him to aſſemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to conſult with them (without whoſe ayde and counſell he could not gouerne his kingdome, or performe his enterpriſes) concerning what was amiſſe. And whereas, ſaid he, *certaine neere about you by their adulation and ſoothing, falſly betray and deceiue you, we here denounce them Excommunicate, and beſeech you as your ſpiritual Father, that you hold them ſo.* Beſides, he vrges him, that *whereas through the negligence of ſome Miniſters of his, the City of* Turney *was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made, to whoſe hands, from the beginning of the warre, the Wools and Monies are committed to be beſtowed, and by whoſe default the City of* Turney *was not ſubdued, but left in ſuch manner as it was: and that as an equall and wiſe Lord he would chaſtiſe ſuch as were culpable, and not condemne or miſdeeme his ſubiects without ſufficient tryall, &c.* The letter bare date the 1. of *Ianuary.*

Then writes hee alſo to *Robert Bouſer* Chancelor of *England,* ſhewing him what contribution the Cleargy had yeelded to the King by their free conſents, and that none other were to bee exacted of them. Requiring him to doe nothing preiudiciall to the *Lawe of Magna Charta; and that if any Writ, Commiſſion, or Precept had gone out of the* Chancery *contrary thereunto, or the priuiledges and liberties of the Church or Kingdome, he ſhould within tenne dayes after the receipt of theſe his Letters (as he ſaide the Chancelor was bound to doe) renoke and anull the ſame.* This bare date the 28. of *Ianuary.*

Another letter he likewiſe ſends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that *whereas contrary to the priuiledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contayned in* Magna Charta, Iohn de Saint Paul, Michael de *Wath,* Robert Chickwill, Iohn Thorpe, *and* Henry Stratford, *were arreſted, committed to priſon, and there deteyned without being indited, or conuicted of any notorious crime, and that whoſoeuer were ayding or councelling to this proceeding had incurred the ſentence of the Canon, which he had cauſed to be publiſhed both in his owne Dioces, and in all other of his ſuffragans. And therefore beſought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliuer the ſaide priſoners, otherwiſe (hee plainly writes) that according to his Paſtrall charge, he muſt proceede to the execution of the ſentence. Concluding how notwithſtanding it was not his intention to include therein the King, Queene, or their children, ſo farre as they might by law be excuſed.*

Quatenus de iure poterunt excuſari.

To this purpoſe he likewiſe ſends to the Biſhop of *London* and other his Suffragan Biſhops, (whom after hauing complained of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publiſh in their Church, but fixe vp in all eminent places the ſentence of Excommunication, againſt all offenders in thoſe articles of *Magna Charta*: which are at large added to his letter, to the end (as he ſaid) that euery man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

Vid. Append.

King *Edward* accuſes the Archbiſhop of falſe dealing.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Arch-biſhop, is faine to apologize for himſelfe, by his letters written to the Biſhop of *London,* wherein, after hauing declared how much hee had euer honoured and truſted the Archbiſhop, hee accuſes him of manifeſt wrong, for that *relying vpon his counſayle, he was put at firſt vpon this action againſt the French King, and by him aſſured he ſhould not want treaſure and meanes for the performance thereof, and that he needed not to care but onely to prouide men to execute the worke. And how notwithſtanding, through the negligence or malice of the ſaid Archbiſhop and his Officials, thoſe prouiſions granted him by his ſubiects in Parliament, were in ſo ſlender proportion leuied, & with ſuch delayes ſent ouer, as he was preſt of neceſſity (to his great griefe and ſhame) to condiſcend to the late truce, and through extreame wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throwe himſelfe into the gulph of the vſurers; in ſuch ſort, as hauing iuſt cauſe, he began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: ſome of whom vpon apparant notice of their ill adminiſtration of Iuſtice, their corruptions and oppreſſion of his ſubiects, he remoued from their places, and ſome of inferiour degree culpable of the ſame offences, hee committed to priſon, and there detained them, to the end he might finde out by their examinations, the truth of their proceedings, wherof none could ſo well informe him as the Archbiſhop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole adminiſtration of the kingdome. And therfore deſirous*

ſirous to conferre with him at London, *he had of late ſent an eſpeciall meſſenger, his truſty ſeruant* Nicholas de Cantelupe, *that he ſhould repaire thither: which the Archbiſhop refuſed to doe, alledging how he ſtood in feare of ſome about the King, and therefore would not endanger himſelfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King ſent* Ralph Stafford, *the Steward of his houſe, with ſafe conduct vnder his great Seale for the Archbiſhops ſecurity. Notwithſtanding he refuſed to come, returning word how he would haue no conference with the King but in open Parliament: which at that time (ſaid the King) was not for eſpeciall reaſons conuenient to be called. Then aggrauates he the vndutifull contempt of the Archbiſhop and his hypocriticall dealing with him: auowing that although by hereditary right, and the diuine grace he was aduanced to that ſublimity of regall power, he held it alwayes to haue beene a deteſtable thing to abuſe the greatneſſe therof, and how he affected nothing more in the world, then to gouerne his ſubiects with mildneſſe, clemency, and moderation of Iuſtice, that he might with peace enioy their loue. And how notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop had moſt iniuriouſly (by his letters publiſhed in diuerſe parts) torne his innocency, and ſlandered the faithfull ſeruice of his Counſailers and Officers, who executed his regall Iuſtice, exclayming how the people were oppreſt, the Cleargy confounded, the kingdome agrieued with taxations and all kinde of exactions. Which the King argues was to no other end, but to raiſe ſedition amongſt his people, and to withdraw their loue and obedience from him. Laſtly, to giue notice of the Archbiſhops corruption, he declares how, himſelfe being vnder age, had through his counſell made ſo many prodigall donations, prohibited alienations, and exceſſiue gifts, as thereby his treaſurie was vtterly exhauſted, and his reuenues diminiſhed, and how the Archbiſhop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reaſonable cauſe, great ſummes which were due vnto him, applying to his proper vſe, or to perſons ill-deſeruing many commodities, and reuennes which ſhould haue beene preſerued for his neceſſary prouiſions.* And therefore concluded, *vnleſſe he deſiſted from this his rebellious obſtinacy, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceede againſt him: inioyning them to publiſh all and ſingular theſe his malignities, and to cauſe others to do the like, for the manifeſtation of his own pious and Princely intention, in relieuing his owne and his ſubiects wrongs.* This letter was ſaid to haue beene penned by *Adam* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and bare date the 12. of February, *An. Reg.* 15.

Thus the King and his Officers, whoſe proceedings muſt not receiue a checke, are cleared, and the imputation reſts vpon the Archbiſhop, who is charged with great accounts, and preſſed by ſuch as lent the King mony, to render the ſame. But ſhortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at *London*, being earneſtly petitioned by the whole Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, that the great *Charter* of Liberties, and the *Charter* of Forreſts might be duly obſerued, and that whoſoeuer of the Kings officers infringed the ſame ſhould loſe their place; that the high Officers of the kingdome, ſhould as in former times bee elected by Parliament. The King ſtood ſtiffe vpon his owne election and prerogatiue, but yet yeelded, (in regard to haue his preſent turne ſerued, as himſelfe after confeſſed) theſe Officers ſhould receiue an oath in Parliament, to doe iuſtice vnto all men in their offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale; both for that, and many other grants of his to the ſubiects, which notwithſtanding were for the moſt part preſently after reuoked. *Vid. Stat. 15. Edward. 3.*

The truce agreed on before *Turney* for one yeare, was by the Commiſsioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, concluded at *Arras*, which yeelded ſome ceſſation of Armes, but not of plotting more miſchiefe. *Louys* of *Bauier* (intituled Emperour) is wonne to the party of the French King, becomes his ſworne confederate, and reuokes the Vicarſhip of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the K. of *England*, pretending the cauſe to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appeares by his letters to King *Edward*, which are againe by him fully and diſcreetely anſwered. The Articles *Vid. Append.* The Emperor reuokes the Vicariate, the reaſon why. *Vid. Append.*

But in ſtead of this remote and vnconſtant confederate (whoſe power lay without the limits of *France*) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier meanes to offend, within the body of that kingdome. The inheritance of the Duchy of *Brittaine* is in controuerſie betweene *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Philip*, and *Iohn de Monfort*, vpon this title: *Arthur* Duke of *Brittaine* had by *Beatrix* his firſt wife, two ſonnes, *Iohn* and *Guy*, by *Yoland* Counteſſe of *Monfort* his ſecond wife The controuerſie for the Duchy of *Britaine*.

Iohn de Monfort. *Iohn* the eldeſt ſonne of *Arthur* hauing no iſſue, ordayned *Iane* his Neece, daughter to his brother *Guy* (who died before him) to ſucceede him in the Duchy. This *Iane*, *Charles de Blois* marries on condition his iſſue by her ſhould inherite the ſame, wherein after conſummation of the Marriage hee is inueſted, and had homage done vnto him during the life of *Iohn* their Vncle. But after his death, *Iohn de Monfort* claymes the Duchy, comes to *Paris* to do homage for the ſame to the French King. *Charles de Blois* in the right of his wife, oppoſes him, the controuerſie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence paſſes on the ſide of *Charles*. *Monfort* inraged repaires to the King of *England*, doth his homage vnto him for the Duchy, is receiued with great applauſe, and his title (howſoeuer held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returniug back into *Brittaine* both with comfort and means, after ſome encounters with his enemy, hee is taken and committed priſoner to the *Louure* in *Paris*: His wife the Counteſſe of *Monfort* ſiſter to *Louys* Earle of *Flanders* (a Lady who ſeemed to haue more of the man then her brother) proſecutes her hushands quarrell, puts on Armour, leades and incourages her people, ſurpriſes, and defends many ſtrong pieces of *Brittaine*: but in the end, like to be ouerlayd by the power of *Charles de Blois*, ſhe craues ayde of the King of *England*, and hath it ſent, vnder the conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, which relieued her for the preſent, but the future required more whereof King *Edward* was not ſparing, in regard of his owne deſignes, for aydes are ſeldome ſent to forrainers but for the ſenders benefit. The Lady her ſelfe comes ouer into *England* to treate both for ſupplyes and alliance, tendring a match betweene her ſonne and a daughter of King *Edward*. The Earles *Salisbury*, *Pembrooke*, and *Suffolke*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer*, and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, are ſent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the incounters, ſurpriſes and recouerings of Forres betweene the Engliſh and the French; and in this action *Robert de Artois* receiued his laſt wound, at the ſiege of *Vannes*, but yet was brought to dye in *England*, it being not in his Fate, that his country (which by his meanes had ſuffered ſo much affliction) ſhould haue his bones, though it had his blood, which hee loſt with little honour, though with much valour, leauing behinde him but the fame of a Rebell, after he had ſerued the Engliſh about ſixe yeares.

Monfort doth homage for the Duke of *Brittaine* to K. *Edward*.

Monfort taken priſoners. His wife proſecutes her husbands quarrell.

Forces ſent ouer into *Brittaine*.

The death of *Robert de Artois*.

King *Edward* ſhortly after theſe ſupplyes ſent into *Brittaine*, goes himſelfe in perſon with more, and lying before *Vannes* (lately recouered by the French) *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy* eldeſt ſonne to the French King, ſent to ayde *Charles de Bloys*, with an Army of forty thouſand, came to giue him battaile, and beeing vpon the point of incounter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinals, ſent from Pope *Clement* the ſixt, and concluded for three yeares, vpon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two kingdomes, but not to determine them without the conſent of both Kings. This pauſe againe giues them more time to worke for greater wounds, and nothing is left vnpractiſed that might aduance the ſame. And though the people now ſeemed to put off their Armour, they left not off armes, but had diuerſe bickrings, both in *Brittaine* and *Gaſcony*, for which either ſide accuſed other.

King *Edward* returning, makes an expedition into *Scotland* againſt K. *Dauid*, whom he chaſed into the Ilands: And here the *Iſle* of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacut* Earle of *Salisbury*, whom King *Edward* cauſed to be ſtiled King thereof, and returning backe, ſolemne Turneaments are held at *Dunſtable*, where hee is ettended with 230. Knights. For now all the paſtime, and exerciſe in *England* were Iuſtes and Turneaments held in *Smithfield*, *Windſor*, and other places. A ſociety of Knights of the round table, in imitation of King *Arthur*, is deſigned, and a magnificent chamber of 200. foot round, erected for the ſame at *Winſor*, and to this ſociety many ſtrangers of other countries are allured. The french K. alſo practiſes the like martial aſſociation in *France*.

1343. *Anno.* *Reg.* 17

The inſtitution of the order of the Garter.

And about this time began the order of the *Garter*, inſtituted at *Winſor* vpon a ſolemne feaſt there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and ſerued that time as an Embleme of a tye and combinement in honour of ſuch as were admitted thereunto which was the end of the conſtitution thereof: Howſoeuer the Garter of the Counteſſe

teſſe of *Salisbury*, taken vp by the King in dancing with her, was ſayde to haue beene the occaſion. But it were ſome derogation to that noble inſtitution, to impute the originall thereof to an Act of Leuity, ſeeing with what a graue and religious ceremony it is performed. Although, we ſee oftentimes, accidents of little conſequence giue beginnings to things of great eſtimation, which time makes venerable.

But beſides theſe exerciſes of Armes, this great and prouident King, during this truce, takes eſpeciall care for the gouernment of the Kingdome, and reformation of the abuſes thereof, which daily grow as diſeaſes in full bodies, and muſt of neceſſity haue ſometimes their cure, otherwiſe there will be no health in a ſtate. A Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein vpon the grieuous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgeſſes againſt the collation of Benefices on ſtrangers, a letter was ſent to Pope *Clement* 6. in humble manner beſeeching him to conſider *how inconuenient, and derogatory it was to the ſtate of the Kingdome of* England, *that ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations of Benefices as had beene formerly vſed, ſhould in ſuch ſort bee continued. For that the Churches of* England *had in times paſt bin endowed by noble and worthy perſons: to the end the people might be inſtructed by ſuch as were of their own language: and how by the vſurpation of ſome of his Predeceſſors, ſtrangers, and ſometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, wherby the money and profits were tranſported, the Cures vnfurniſhed, almes and Hoſpitality vnuſed, the edifices ruinated, the charity and deuotion of the people diminiſhed, and many other grieuous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occaſioned: which they could not ſuffer any longer, and therfore beſought his holineſſe wholly to reuoke ſuch reſeruations, prouiſion and collations, that meete and natiue perſons might exerciſe the Cures, and without delay to ſignifie his intention therein, otherwiſe they meant to imploy their diligence, that remedy & redreſſe might be had according to reaſon.* The date of theſe letters was in full Parliament at *Weſtminſter* the 28. of *May*, 1343. with which were likewiſe ſent the Kings letters to the ſame effect, by Sir *Iohn Shordich*, a graue perſon and of great vnderſtanding in the Law; whoſe meſſage made him ſo vnwelcome to that Court, as hee departed without leaue, or anſwer, which though the Pope afterward ſent: yet the King proceeded to the prohibition of all ſuch prouiſions and collations within his Realm, on paine of impriſonment, or death to whomſoeuer ſhould in time to come preſent or admit any ſuch perſon or perſons, who by the Pope were ſo preferred to the preiudice of the Kings royall prerogatiue. And to this effect were Writs directed to all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and others to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wiſe to attēpt any thing preiudicial to this ordinance.

The Nobility write to the Pope concerning his collation of Benifices in *England*.

Sir Iohn *Shordich* ſent with theſe letters.

Here is the Arch-biſhop *Stratford* with much adoe vpon his ſubmiſſion reconciled to the Kings fauour. And much debating there in this Parliament concerning Wools and the aſſeaſement of certaine prices vpon the ſame, more or leſſe, according to the ſeuerall parts of the Realme: And concerning cuſtomes to bee impoſed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe vpon the tranſportation of euery ſacke; but it ſeemes nothing was done in this buſineſſe.

The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* reconciled.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commiſſioners are appointed to be ſent to the Pope to treate of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *Iohn* Biſhop of *Exceter*, *Henry de Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby*, *Hugh le Diſpencier* Lord of *Glamorgan*, Couſins to the King, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford* with others.

Prince *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*.

1344

Anno. Reg. 18

The next yeare after another Parliament, or the ſame proroged, is held at *London*, wherein after much altercation, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laytie for one yeare, and a certaine Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of baſe alloy, which had beene for the warres in *France*, is decryed, and Nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the ſubiects. And for their better commodity the exchange of moneys at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordained. Shortly after generall Muſters are taken throughout the Kingdome, and certificate made of all ſufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Beſides, a Commiſſion is ſent into euery countrey to inquire of mens abilities, and of all fiue pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horſe-backe, of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and ſo ratably aboue.

A Parliament

Generall muſters and appointing of Armour.

aboue. The King himſelfe goes in perſon to confirme and make the *Flemings* faſt vnto him: and at *Sluce*, *Iaques van Arteuile* with other Commiſsioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire vnto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle ſhould doe homage to the King of *England*, or elſe be diſinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* receiued for their Lord; for which King *Edward* promiſes to erect their County to a Dukedome. *Arteuile* was forward to entertaine this motion: but the reſt of the Commiſsioners require leaue to acquaint therewith the townes that ſent them, which though they were all deſirous to haue the Protection of the King of *England*, yet diſliked the diſinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Arteuile* notwithſtanding vndertakes to induce them vnto it, and returnes to *Gaut*, garded with fiue hundreth *Welſh*, which he deſired to haue, for that one *Gerard Denyſe* Prouoſt of the *Weauers* oppoſed him, and ſought his diſtruction. The people whom hee had ſo often led to mutiny againſt others, now vpon his returne roſe againe himſelfe, and a Cobler with an Axe ſtrake out his braines. And ſo King *Edward* loſt his great Agent, which much diſpleaſed him, and diſappointed his buſineſſe in thoſe parts. Yet the townes ſent to excuſe themſelues of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gantoys*, and in all things vowing their faithfull ſeruice vnto him: onely to the diſinheriting of their Earle they could not conſent. But they hoped to perſwade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the ſonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his preſent diſpleaſure, the league is renued betwixt them, and King *Edward* retures to proſecute his other deſignes.

But now the warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Darby* Generall of the Army, aſſaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agenois*, *Angoleſme*, *Rions*, Saint *Baſile*, with many other Cities and Caſtles, The French King ſends his eldeſt ſonne *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy* to incounter him, who recouers the Cities of *Angoleſme*, and *Ville-Franche*, and thus is the ſword out before the Truce is expired, the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and hee the ſame on him, for entertayning King *Dauid*, and ſetting the *Scots* vpon attempts of inuaſion of his Realme. So that it ſeemes both were prepared to breake, not able to holde their hands any longer from the fatall work of deſtruction.

1346 *Anno.* *Reg.* 20

The king goes with a mighty Army into *Normandy*.

It was now the twentieth yeare of this mighty and actiue Kings raigne, wherein hee had prepared the greateſt Fleete that euer yet croſſed the ſeas for *France*, and ouer he paſſes into *Normandy* in *July*, leauing for Wardens of *England* in his abſence, the Lords *Percy*, and *Neuile*, taking the young Prince with him, about the age of fifteene yeares, to learne him the way of men, and what trauell greatnes was borne to endure, to attaine glory in this world. His Army conſiſted of foure thouſand men at Armes, and ten thouſand Archers, beſides *Welch* and *Iriſh*, which followed on foote; hee had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: of Barons, *Mortimer*, (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *Iohn*, *Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Baſſet*, *Barkeley*, and *Willoughbie*, with diuers other, both Knights and gallant Captaines. Hee had of late entertayned *Godfrey de Harcourt*, who had beene as a minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, vpon ſome diſcontent, or doubt of ſome diſcoueries of fauouring the Engliſh party in *Brittaine*, for which cauſe the French King had a little before executed *Oliuer de Cliſſon*, *Bacon*, *Percey*, *Geffery de Maleſtroit*, men of eſpeciall marke, whom hee had there imployed. And now in ſtead of this *Harecourt* had wonne from King *Edward* the Lord *Iohn de Beaumont*, who had long ſerued him, was his wiues Vncle, and acquainted with all his courſes. Such is the truſt of mercinaries, who ſell their faith for better entertainment. Neither did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King his naturall Lord: but in the meane time did him and his countrey much miſchiefe. For vpon King *Edwards* landing with his mighty Army, in the Iſle of *Conſtantine* in *Normandy* by his conduction, hee made him one of his Marſhals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundell* is appointed Conſtable. Hee diuides his people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the ſea coaſt; the other on the right, conducted by the two Marſhals

Iohn de Beaumont when king *Edward* had made him Earle of *Cambridge*, takes the French kings part.

Marſhals, and himſelfe in the midſt with his maine Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* imployed for Admirall of his Fleete, was to take all the ſhips he found on the Sea coaſt. The three Armies by land lodged euery night in one field. And firſt he ſackes the Citie of *Caranton*, ſlew all hee found armed or diſarmed therein, burnes, razes, deſolates the Citie, ſaying he ſacrificed thoſe oblations to *Bacon*, *Percy*, and others (whoſe heads hee found ſet vpon the principall gate) vniuſtly maſſacred by *Philip*. Thence he marches forward, and tooke Saint *Lo*, a rich Towne of marchandiſe, and pillaged the ſame. Then after ſome bickring, became Maſter of *Caen*, and put all that countrey into ſo great terror, as *Falaiſe*, *Lyſeaux*, *Honfleur*, ſtrong walled townes, rendered themſelues vnto him. This done he ſpread his power in the Iſle of *France*, to draw out *Philip* to the combate, giuing out that he would wraſtle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his capitall Citie of *Paris*.

The manner of King *Edward* proceeding with his Army.

Philip this while held not his armes in his boſome, but had ramaſſed one of the faireſt Armies, ſaith the *French* Hiſtory, that euer was ſeene in *France*, compoſed of *French*, *Lorraynes*, *Almaines*, *Genouoys*, which he led towards *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was ſaid to haue made a ſtand and attended him; but vpon report of his comming on, retyres: it was ſuppoſed hee fled for feare, but the euent ſhewed that the great God of Armies had deſtined his victory for another place. King *Philip* followes and ouertakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, a name remarkeable (ſignifying the *Sand*) to ſhow on what vnſtable earth all the truſt of humane forces, and the deſignes of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Philip*, hauing the aduantage to bee at home where all was theirs, made him account the victory certaine. King *Edward* retires to gaine the Riuer of *Some* at *Blanquetaque*, but the paſſage was to be diſputed by the ſword. For *Philip* had before ſent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thouſand horſe, and ſixe thouſand foote. King *Edward* notwithſtanding reſolues to paſſe or periſh, and plunges formoſt into the Riuer, crying out: *They who loue mee will follow mee.* At which voyce all thruſt in without diſpute, ſtriuing who ſhould bee formoſt, and lo preſently the ſhoare gained by the *Engliſh*. *Gundomar* aſtoniſhed with this vnexpected, and bold aduenture, aſtoniſhes his people by his fearefull countenance. So that the *Engliſh* incountring the *French* all in diſorder, fell vpon them and put them to flight. But the retraite was neere to *Abbe-ville* and Saint *Requier*. The loſſe was not ſo great as the ſhame, but ſerued as a preſage for a greater miſchiefe to *France*. Theſe diſtouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-ville*. Where King *Philip* inraged with this diſhonour, reſolued to reuenge it, and preſently to prouoke King *Edward* to the combate. The aduiſe of his Councell was otherwiſe; to ſuffer his tronpes to repoſe ſome few daies, and recouer their ſpirits, and King *Edward* to coole and ſpend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to ſtay in *Abbe-ville* one day, whiles the bridge to paſſe ouer his Army, was repayring. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field he marches, eleuated with an aſſured hope of a triumphant victory.

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King *Edward* goes ouer the riuer of *Some*, defeites the *French*.

The *French* King reſolues to incounter King *Edward*.

His impatience and his hopes.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable diſcretion and vigilancy, and had now incamped in a Village called *Cracy*, and there entrenched and fortified himſelfe, not onely with the trees of the Forreſt about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences beſides: cauſing alſo a Parke to bee paled vnder the wood ſide behinde his hoſte, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army conſiſted of thirtie thouſand men, but in order and courage double the number. The vauntgard he gaue to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Godfray de Harecourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Bourcheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Sir *Robert Neuile* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thouſand Archers, beſides a thouſand other, moſt of them *Welch men*. The ſecond battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Roſſe*, *Willoughby*, *Baſſet*, Saint *Albin*, *Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelue hundred Archers. The third battaile the King led himſelfe, hauing ſeuen hundred men at Armes, and two thonſand Archers. Theſe Battailes thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, hee rode from ranke to ranke

The ordering of King *Edwards* Army.

ranke to view them, the one Marſhall on his right hand, the other on his left, incouraging euery man that day to haue regard to his right and honour.

The ordering of the *French* Kings Army at the battell of *Creſſy*.

The *French* Kings Army was greater both in luſtre and aduantage, compoſed of aboue ſixty thouſand combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon* the Kings brother, *Iohn de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorrayne*, the Earle of *Flanders*, *Neuers*, *Sancerre*, the Dolphin *de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, aboue three thouſand: and on the Eue of the battaile *Amè* Earle of *Sauoy* arriued with a thouſand men at armes more, which made the *French* King ſwell with aſſurance of the maſterie, ſo that he longed to be at the incounter. The Vauntgard hee commits to his brother Conte *d' Alanſon*, the Reere to the Earle of *Sauoy*, the maine battaile hee leads himſelfe: his heate would ſcarce permit time for a little counſell what was fit to bee done. The old King of *Bohemia* aduiſed that the Army ſhould firſt take ſome repaſt, and that the Infanterie conſiſting of *Genoueſe* (which were about fifteene thouſand croſſe-bowes, and ſure men) ſhould make the firſt front, and the Cauallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After this repaſt the Vauntgard ſet on, the Conte *d' Alanſon*, contrarie to this order, tooke it ill that the *Genoueſe* were in the firſt ranke, and in fury cauſed them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Army, and wrought that diſcontent as it irritated them more againſt the leader then the enemy: beſides there fell at the inſtant a piercing ſhower of raine, which diſſolued their ſtrings and made their bowes vnuſefull, and at the breaking vp of the ſhower, the Sunne ſhone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their ſight) and on the backes of the *Engliſh*, as if all made for them.

King *Edward* diſcouers the diſorders of the *French*.

King *Edward* who had gotten to a winde-mill hill, beholding as from a Sentinell, with a ſetled ſpirit, the countenance of the enemy, and diſcouering both this accident, and the hurlement made by the change of place, ſlacks not to take aduantage thereof, and inſtantly ſends to charge that part, without giuing them time to reaccommoderate themſelues; inſomuch as the diſcouraged *Genoueſe* recoyle, which the Conte *d' Alanſon* perceiuing, and comming on with the horſe, in great rage cries out, *On, on, let vs make way vpon the bellies of theſe Genoueſe, who doe but hinder vs*: and inſtantly prickes on with a full carrier through the midſt of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorrayne*, *Sauoy*, and the Dolphin *de Viennois*, and neuer takes breath till hee came vp to the *Engliſh* battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better ſetled: their horſes flanked with troupes of Archers, whoſe ſtrings hauing not felt the raine, rained ſuch a ſhower of ſteele vpon them, as cooled their heate and all diſordered them. The *French* king ſeeing his brother thus indangered, makes vp to diſingage him, whereupon the fight grew hotte and doubtfull, inſomuch as the Commanders about the Prince, ſend to King *Edward* to come vp with his power to ayde them: the King demands the meſſenger, whether his ſonne were ſlaine or hurt: the meſſenger anſwered no, but hee was like to bee ouer laide. Well then ſaid the King, returne, and tell them who ſent you, *that ſo long as my ſonne is aliue, they ſend no more to me what euer happen, for I will that the honour of this day bee his*. And ſo being left to try for themſelues, they wrought it out with the ſword, and recouered the aduantage, by reaſon the *French* King (hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him and in danger to bee troden to death, had hee not beene recouered by the Lord *Iohn Beamont*, his new Penſioner) was to the great diſcouragement of his people withdrawn out of the field.

King *Edward* obtaines the victory in this great battell of *Creſſy*.

Whereof notice being once taken by the *Engliſh*, the day was ſoone after theirs, and the greateſt victory they euer had yet againſt the *French*: and ſo bloody as there is not mention made of one priſoner taken in the battaile: for they being once put to rout, were all, whom the ſword could ouertake, ſlaughtered out right. Some few troupes that held together, ſaued themſelues by retyring to places neere adioyning. The *French* king himſelfe with a ſmall company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the walles, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he anſwered, *The fortune of France*. His voyce being knowne the gates are opened, and in is hee receiued with the teares and lamentations of his people, whom yet he ſeekes to comfort all he could. The number of the

The *French* King flies.

ſlaine

ſlaine on the place are certified to be 30. thouſand. The chiefe men were *Charles d' Alanſon, Iohn* Duke of *Borbone, Ralph* Earle of *Lorraine, Lonys* Earle of *Flanders, Iaques Dauphin de Viennois*, ſon to *Imbert* (who after gaue *Dauphine* to the Crowne of *France*) the Earles of *Sancerre, Harcourt* (brother to *Geoffry*) and many other Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victorie hapned vpon the Saturday after *Bartholomew day*, being the 26. of *Auguſt* 1346. The number of the ſlaine.

All the Markes of an intire ouerthrow reſted with King *Edward*: the field of the Battaile, the bodies of the ſlaine, and their ſpoiles. The occaſion of this great defeit (according to humaine coniecture) the *French* attribute to the choller, raſhneſſe and precipitation of their King and his brother, and ſure temeritie and preſumption haue euer beene the ruine of great Actions, eſpecially in warre.

King *Edward* managed this victorie with as great moderation as he wanne it: and firſt, hauing imbraced his Sonne, commending his valour ſhewed that day, he renders thankes to God after, as he had inuoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battaile, and earely in the morning, beeing Sunday, he ſent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to diſcouer what was become of the enemie, who found great Troupes of ſuch as were comming from *Abbe-ville*, St. *Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Arch-biſhop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewiſe defeited, and ſlew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fledde from the Battaile, or comming on, hauing loſt their way by reaſon of a thicke miſt which hapned that morning) were ſlaine many more then in the field the day before, which ſheweth vs the wonderfull loſſe this afflicted Countrie ſuſteined at one fatall blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to King *Edward* that yeere, there was an other of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Qneene and his people at home againſt the King of *Scots*; who being ſet on by the *French* to diuert the war there, entred vpon the Kingdome with 60. thouſand men, as our Writers report, aſſuring himſelfe of ſucceſſe, in regard (as he ſuppoſed) the maine ſtrength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfriuile*, Earle of *Angos*, *Henry Percie*, *Ralph Niuile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergie, gathered ſo great force, and ſo well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in perſon) as they vtterly defeited this great Armie; tooke *Dauid* their King priſoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes* and others, and put to the ſword 15. thouſand *Scots*. This victorie fell likewiſe vpon a Saturday, and ſixe weekes after that of *Creſſie*. And as if all concurred to make this yeere triumphant. The aydes ſent to the Counteſſe of *Monfert* in *Brittaine*, lead by Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, ouerthrew and tooke priſoner, *Charles de Blois*, pretender to that Duchie, and with him *Monſieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyacq*, with many other Barons, Knights and Eſquires: there were ſlaine in the incounter the Lord *De la Val* (father of him which was taken (Vicont *Rohan*, *Monſieur de Chaſtean Brian*, *de Maleſtroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direual*, great Lords, beſides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Eſquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the ſword of *England*. King *Dauid* ouerthrowne and taken priſoner. *Charles de Bloys* taken priſoner.

Now King *Edward*, without medling with the great Cities, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, which were both neere, marches on directly and ſets downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the reſt: wherein *Iohn de Vienne* Marſhall of *France*, and the Lord *d' Andreghen*, a great man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King *Edward* hauing ſheltred his people as in another Towne, furniſhed with all prouiſions, lay without any moleſtation of the *French* King, who this while was likewiſe beſieged with the affliction of his owne ſtate. Misfortune is euer held a great fault, both in mightie men and meane, and opens the mouthes of thoſe whoſe hearts are peruerſe. The people of *France* were in extreame pouertie, yet notwithſtanding the neceſsitie of the Kings affaires muſt conſtraine freſh ſupplies. The ill managing the publike treaſure, the falſhood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of King *Edward* beſiegeth *Calais*.

of Monies, the deminiſhing of trafficke, augmentation of impoſtes, Subſidies, Gabels, &c. were the cauſes of this publike murmure, and put the people in diſpaire, ſeeing no end of the troubles wherein their King was daily more and more ingaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an aſſembly of the States. Wherein the Financiers, Receiuers and managers of monies are called to render an account, and the treaſure committed to the diſpoſing of the Cleargie and the Nobles, to take away ſuſpition in the people of ill dealing. Foure Biſhops, two Abbots, and foure Knights are choſen for that buſineſſe. *Pierre des Eſſars* Treaſurer of *France*, is committed to priſon, condemned in a great Fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants reſtore at once, what they were long in gathering. The *Banquiers*, *Lombards*, and other vſurers, are put to the preſſe for their vnlawfull exactions: and the Intreſts are prooued to exceed the Principall, which is confiſcate to the King, and the Intereſt giuen to the Debtors. Courſes, wherewith indigent Kings in expenſiue times vſe to ſerue their turnes, and pleaſe their oppreſſed people. Which I haue the rather noted, though it lye without our circle, to ſhew that other Kings likewiſe laide hand vpon what they could faſten, as well as ours haue done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Vſurer is new to vs, but yet like to that practiſed heretofore vpon the *Iewes*, and might ſerue a turne with as much content to the people, and as faire a ſhew of a iuſt correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being alike.

The State of *France*.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready ſeruice of his Nobles and ableſt ſubiects, the *French* King, in the ſpring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Callais*, but finds no way open to come to releeue it. The King of *England* was both Maſter of the Hauen, and poſſeſt of all other waies whatſoeuer were paſſable, and had the *Flemmings* his friends, who with a huge Army had beſieged *Ayre*, and did much miſchiefe on the confines of *France*. To oppoſe them, is *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, the Prince, ſent for out of *Guien*, who beeing no ſooner remooued from thence, but *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby* became maſter of the field (hauing an Army conſiſting of twelue hundred men at armes, two thouſand Archers, and three thouſand other foot *Engliſh* and *Gaſcoines*) takes in moſt of the Townes of *Xaintonge*, and *Poictou*, in the end beſieged and ſacked *Poytiers*, and ſo returnes to *Burdeaux* with more pillage then his people could well beare. Thus the *French* ſuffer euery where. Their King, not beeing able to approach to grapple with the King of *England*, ſends to ſolicite him to appoint ſome place of battaile, and hee would incounter him. King *Edward* returnes anſwer; *If hee would make his owne way to come thither vnto him, there hee ſhould finde him: for, from thence hee would not part, hauing there laine ſo long, to his great labour and charge, and beeing now ſo neere the point of gaining the place.* The two Cardinals ſent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace, and Commiſsioners on either ſide meete to treate: but nothing could bee effected. So that the *French* King was forced to breake vp his Armie and retire to *Paris*, leauing *Callais*, and the defendants vnreleeued, to the mercy of the Beſieger, which when they vnderſtood, they ſent to deſire Parle, had it granted, and therein receiued this finall ſentence: that ſixe of the chiefe Burgeſſes ſhould bee ſent to the King bare-headed, bare-footed, in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks, the keyes of the Towne and Caſtle in their hands, and ſubmit themſelues to the Kings will: for the reſidue hee was content to take to mercy. This ſentence intimated to the miſerable townesmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who ſhould bee choſen for this ſacrifice, one amongſt the reſt ſtands vp, and boldly ſpake to this effect. *Fellow citizens, for mine owne part I that haue ſo often expoſed my life, in this long ſiege for my Countrie (and haue beene euery day to die) am now moſt willing to ſacrifice the ſame for my laſt oblation thereunto, and will cheerefully carry my head to the victorie of the King of* England, *not deſiring to ſuruiue the perdition of my miſerable Countrie.* Which free and reſolute ſpeech ſo wrought with this amazed people, as now they ſtriue who ſhould bee one of the ſixe; and cryed, *Let vs goe, let vs goe vnto death, it is the laſt duty we ought to render to our natiue ſoyle.* Sixe are preſently choſen, and ſent according to the ſentence, preſenting themſelues on their knees to the King, and beſeeching him to ſhew

Conditions for the rendering of *Callais*.

mercy

mercy vnto them. The King commands them inſtantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great ſupplication was made for them by his Counſell) be diuerted; in regard as he ſaid of his oath: till the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtained their pardon, and had them giuen vnto her; which done ſhe cauſed them to be clothed, gaue them their dinner, and ſixe nobles a man, appointing them to be ſafely conuayed out of the Armie, and ſet at liberty. An Act worthy of ſo great a Queene, and the greater by this her deed of mercie. The King though in this he were ſterne, yet was he more ſparing of blood then his Grand-father *Edward* 1. and had more of Compaſsion; as ſhewed an Act in this Seige. When victuals within the Towne began to faile, and all vnuſefull perſons, as olde men, women, and children put out of the gates, hee forced them not backe againe which hee might haue done, the ſooner to conſume their ſtore, but ſuffered them to paſſe thorow his Armie, gaue them to eate, and two pence a peece to euery one.

The Queene obtaines pardon for the Burgeſſes of *Calais*.

King *Edwards* Clemencie.

And thus was that ſtrong Towne of *Callais* the third of *Auguſt* 1347. gotten, after almoſt an yeeres ſiege with infinite coſt and labour: all the inhabitants are turned out, and ſent away to ſeeke new dwellings; a Colonie of the *Engliſh* planted therein, and ſo it remained in the poſſeſsion of the Crowne of *England*, 210. yeeres after. And now this triumphant King hauing made truce for ſome few moneths, and taken order for the ſafe keeping of his hard gotten prize, returnes with his Queene, the Prince, and his people into *England*, to make Holy-day, and inioy the benefite of their booties brought home out of *France*, which are ſaid to bee ſo great as euery houſe had ſome part, and the wiues of *England*, now flouriſh with the ſtuffe and ornaments of thoſe of *France*, who in the meane time lament their loſſes: and here is nothing but Feaſts, and Triumphes throughout the Kingdome. And to adde to this glorie, the Princes *Electors* ſend to ſignifie, that they had choſen King *Edward*, King of the *Romans*: which great dignitie, notwithſtanding he refuſed, being it ſeemed out of his way, or cumberſome to deale withall.

The conqueſt of the Towne of *Calais*.

King *Edward* returnes into *England*.

King *Edward* refuſeth the Election of King of the *Romans*.

But before that yeere ended, this great iollitie, heere in *England* turned to the ſaddeſt mourning that could be poſsible. The inuiſible Sword of Heauen makes ſuch a rauage vpon Mankinde, as had not beene knowne before. A contagious Peſtilence ariſeth in the Eaſt and South parts of the World, that diſpreads it ſelfe ouer all Chriſtendome. And in *England* they write that it tooke away more then the halfe of men: as if the Diuine prouidence ſeeing them thus violently bent to deſtroy and maſſacre one another, would leſſen their numbers for their fields, and take to it ſelfe the vengeance of blood-ſhed in this terrible manner. Churchyards could not heere ſuffice to burie the dead, new grounds are purchaſed for that purpoſe. It is noted there dyed in *London*, betweene the firſt of *Ianuary* and the firſt of *July* 57374. perſons. Other Cities and Townes ſuffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithſtanding, could not deterre thoſe egar Princes from proſecuting their quarrell, nor yet ſo vnfurniſh their fields but that they found ſtill freſh hands for blood-ſhed, as ſhewed their many conflicts ſhortly after. But yet it gaue ſome pauſe, till the feruour of the contagion aſſwaged, which was alſo attended with a miſerable famine, murraine of Cattle, and ſterrilitie of the earth, cauſed through the indiſpoſition of the Heauens, and want of culture.

The firſt Action after this, was the Kings going ouer to *Calais*, vpon an information of a practiſe to ſurpriſe the Towne, contriued by the *French*, which was thus. *Monſieur de Charmy*, Gouernour of Saint *Omers*, had dealt with *Americo de Pauia*, whom King *Edward* had left Captaine of the Caſtle of *Calais*, offring him 20. thouſand Crownes to be receiued into the Caſtle: *Americo* accepts the offer, and appoints a night for the buſineſſe. In which night (by aduertiſement from *Americo*) King *Edward* arriues with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. *Monſieur Charmy* ſets out likewiſe the ſame night from Saint *Omers* with his Forces, and ſent 100. armed men before with the Crownes to *Americo*, and to poſſeſſe the Caſtle. The men are let in at a Poſterne Gate, the Crownes receiued, and themſelues laide in hold. Which done the

Anno Reg. 23

The *French* circumuented in their practiſe.

King *Edward* goes ouer to *Calais*.

the gates of the Towne are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monſieur de Charny*, comming on with his forces, who perceiuing himſelfe betrayed, put his people to the beſt defence he could, and the King of *England* to a hard bickring; who, for that he would not be knowne there in perſon, put himſelfe and the Prince, vnder the colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by *Mongeur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recouered, and in the end tooke *Riboumont* priſoner. *Charny* was likewiſe taken, and all his forces defeited. King *Edward* the night after (which was the firſt of the new yeere) feaſted with the priſoners, and gaue *Riboumont* in honour of his valour (wherein he honoured his owne) a rich chaplet of Pearle, which himſelfe wore on his head (for a New-yeeres-gift) forgaue him his ranſome, and ſet him at liberty. The reſt pay dearely for what they got not, and were well warmed how to trafficke in that kinde. Yet the *Engliſh* not long after in the like practiſe had better ſucceſſe, and got the Caſtle of *Guiſnes* (a peece of great importance neere *Calais*) for a ſumme of money giuen to one *Beauconroy* a *French man*. Of which Caſtle, when the *French* King demanded reſtitution, in regard of the Truce; King *Edward* returnes anſwer: *That for things bought and ſold betweene their people, therein was no exception*, and ſo held it.

1305. *Anno.* *Reg.*24

Shortly after, the *French* King not borne to liue to ſee any better fortune, dyes, leauing that diſtreſſed Kingdome to his ſonne *Iohn*; who found farre worſe. For theſe fore noted wounds, were but as ſcratches to that State, compared with thoſe horrible maimes it indured in his, and after in the Raignes of *Charles* 6. and 7. till the ſword of *England* was turned home vpon it ſelfe, to let out the blood of reuenge with as tragicall miſchiefes, on the ſucceſſours of theſe actors, who now thus wrought others ruines aboade.

The French king dies.

King *Edward*, the next yeere after, is againe in perſon with a Fleet on the Sea, to incounter certaine *Spaniſh* ſhippes, paſsing from *Flanders* loaden with cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood ſhed on either ſide, hee tooke with all their ſubſtance: for that the *Spaniards* the yeere before, entered the Riuer *Garonne*, and tooke away certaine *Engliſh* ſhips, loaden with wines and ſlew all the *Engliſh*. His forces in *Guien* were not idle this while, but many conflicts paſſed betweene the *French* and them; notwithſtanding the Truce which was renewed. The warres in *Brittaine* likewiſe continue, and are hotly maintained betweene the two Ladies, the widdow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Bloys* (whoſe husband remaines priſoner in *England*) eager defenders of eithers pretended right.

King *Edward* in action at ſea againſt the *Spaniards*.

Diuerſe ouertures of peace had beene made by Legates, ſent from the Pope, and Commiſsioners often mette, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could bee concluded, (the winner and the loſer ſeldome agreeing vpon conditions, in regard the one will haue more then the other is willing to yeeld vnto) and ſo temporary Truces (which were but ſlenderly obſerued) are onely taken to winne time. Theſe actions not only conſumed our men, but the treaſure of the kingdome. The warre, though inuaſiue, could not maintaine it ſelfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to paſſe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the ſmall peeces of ſiluer called ſterlings: but now grotes of foure-pence, and halfe grotes of two pence, equiuolent to the ſterling money, are coined, which inhanſed the prices of things, that riſe or fall according to the plenty of ſcarcitie of Coine. Which made ſeruants aud labourers to raiſes their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Weſtminſter*, to reduce the ſame to the accuſtomed rate which was giuen before the late great Mortality. This cauſed much murmuring amongſt them, imputing the cauſe thereof to *William Edington* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Kings Treaſurer, whom they held to be the Author of the abatement of the Coine.

Alterations of monies.

A Parliament. *Anno.* *Reg.*27

The King conceiuing diſpleaſure againſt the *Flemmings*, for being diſappointed of the Match betweene a Daughter of his, and their yong Eare of *Lonys* (who was eſca-

ped

ped into *France*, and beſtowed on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart or Staple of woolles from their Townes, greatly inriched thereby, and cauſed the ſame to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, *Warwicke*, *Yorke*, *New-caſtle*, *Exceſter*, *Carmarden*, *Briſtoll*, and *Hull*. Holding it fitter to aduance his own townes then ſtrangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are prouident Ordinances enacted, for the gouerning and ordering this Staple.

The Staple eſtabliſhed in *England*.

An Act is alſo made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Milles, and other ſtoppages of Riuers, hindring the paſſages of Boates, Lighters, and other Veſſels ſhould bee remooued. An Act moſt commodious to the Kingdome, but it tooke little effect, ſaith my Authour, by reaſon of bribing and corrupting Lords, and great men, who regarded more their owne, then the pnblike benefite: A miſchiefe fatall to all good Ordinances; and yet it is an honour to that time, that ſo behooueſull an act was ordained. For, this eaſie conuaying and paſſing of Commodities from that place to place, to impart the ſame more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinit benefit to this ſtate: And ſeeing God hath made vs Riuers proper for the ſame, it is our negligence, or ſloth if we marre them, or make them not vſefull in that kind, as other nations do with farre leſſer ſtreames.

Walſingham.

There is mentioned alſo an Act to be made, at the inſtance of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore ſhould weare any hood; except rayed, or ſtriped with diuers colours, or Furres, but garments reuerſed, the wrong ſide outward: wherein they did well to ſet a deformed marke vpon fouleneſſe, to make it appeare the more odious.

Stow.

After this Parliament, *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, is created Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*; and heere *Charles de Bloys*, a long priſoner in *England*, agreed for his Ranſome, which was 40. thouſand *Florins*, and was permitted to returne into *Britagne* to prouide the ſame. Great mediation is made by the *Pope* to accord the two Kings, and Commiſſioners meet on both ſides, to treate and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; *That the King of* England *ſhould enioy all the Lands of his Duchy of* Aquitaine, *without holding the ſame by reſort or homage of the Crowne of* France: *and in conſideration thereof, ſhould reſigne all his Clayme and title to that Kingdome.* And this was in a manner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the *French* (*Alledging, they could not alienate any thing from the Body of that Crowne*) *to their farther confuſion and miſchiefe, hauing beene better to haue ſpared a formal Ceremony appertaining to a part, then to haue had the whole ſo miſerably rent and torne in pieces as it was.* And yet in the end were they faine to make their agreement vpon the ſame very Article, at the Treaty of *Britigny*.

The Earle of *Derby* created Duke of *Lancaſter*.

Treatie of Peace.

But now the Commiſſioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of *England* grew ſo diſpleaſed, as hee would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were not inſtantly vrg'd by two *Cardinals*, ſent from *Auignion* by *Pope Clement* the 6. (who being a *French-man* borne, laboured much for the peace of his Countrey) and preparation is made for freſh wars. The Prince of *Wales* now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into *Gaſcoigne* with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. archers, and a great number of *Welſhmen*, and in *Iune* following, ſets foorth with 300. Sayle; attended with the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *Iames Audley*, Sir *Robert Knoles*, Sir *Franke de Hall*, with many others.

Anno. Reg. 27

About *Michelmas* following, the King himſelfe paſſes ouer to *Calais* with another Army, taking with him two of his ſonnes, *Lionel* of *Antwarpe*, now Earle of *Vlſter*, (by the right of his wife, *Elizabeth* daughter and heire to *William Brugh*;) And *Iohn* of *Gant*, Earle of *Richmont*. There met him at *Calais*, of Mercinaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thouſand men at Armes. So that his Army conſiſted of three thouſand men of Armes, and two thouſand Archers on horſe-backe; beſides Archers on foote. The City of *London* ſent 300. men at Armes, and 500. Archers all in one Liuery, at their owne charge. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the French king would not be drawne to any incounter: both in regard of the potency of his enemy, and ſome turbulencies happening amongſt his owne people,

King *Edward* paſſes with an Army into *France*.

Returnes without doing any thing.

but he ſo diſfurniſhes the country (where the *Engliſh* were to paſſe) of all prouiſions to ſuſtaine them, as the King of *England* was forced to returne.

The diſtemperatures of *France* that this time diſeaſed it, grew from the violent humors of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, who had married *Jane* the French Kings daughter, a Prince of a ſtirring ſpirit, ſubtile, haughty, and preſuming vpon his great Eſtate, and high blood, being the ſonne of *Louys* Conte *d' Eureux* and *Iane* daughter to King *Louys Huttin*, which *Iane* was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of *France* by *Philip de Long* her Vncle, in regard of the *Solicque Law*: and by him preferred to be Queene of *Nauarre*, in whoſe right this *Charles* her ſonne, bare both the title and ſtate of that kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himſelfe wronged that hee had not alſo the Counties of *Champagne* and *Bry*, which appertayned to his mother by the ſame right as did the kingdome of *Nauarre*, enters into violent courſes. And (daring not to complaine directly of the King) hee falles vpon the Conſtable of *France*, as chiefe of his Councell, and one of whom he was iealous, in regard of the Kings particular fauour vnto him, and in the end cauſed him to bee murdered in his bed at *L' Aigle* in *Normandy*, ruſhing himſelfe vp into his Chamber, accompanyed with his brother *Philip* of *Nauarre*, two of the *Harecourts*, and diuers other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, hee retyres to his owne City of *Eureux*, and iuſtifies the act to be lawfull.

The king of *Nauarre*, diſturbes the *French* king.

The *French* King, though extreamely ſtung herewith, yet was faine to temporiſe, and promiſes the King of *Nauarre*, if hee would come and craue pardon, hee ſhould haue it. Whereupon hee appeares at *Paris* before the Councell, to render reaſon for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treaſon (notwithſtanding the Kings promiſe) and committed priſoner. Three Queenes are earneſt ſutors for him, his mother (the olde Queene of *Nauarre*) his ſiſter (the widdow of the late King *Philip de Valois*) and his owne wife daughter to the *French* King. His releaſe is obtayned, and away hee goes with the rancour of this wound (which had beene better not giuen, vnleſſe it had beene home) offers his ſeruice to the King of *England* (who knew well how to make vſe of ſuch a powerfull member) and withall ſurpriſes certayne pieces in *Normandy*, practiſing all he could to withdrawe the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when he had moſt neede of them. Theſe inſolencies, notwithſtanding the *French* King is faine to endure and diſſemble, vntill hee might againe take him vpon ſome aduantage: to vſe force, he ſaw was dangerous, both in regard of his party, and the time. An occaſion at length fell out, whereon he ſeazes. *Charles* his eldeſt ſonne being lately inueſted in the Duchy of *Normandy*, is viſited by all the great men in the Countrey, amongſt whom as chiefe comes the King of *Nauarre*, and is royally feaſted at *Roan*. Whereof the French king hauing notice, ſets out of *Paris* ſuddenly, takes him at dinner with his ſonne, and without farther proceſſe cauſes foure of the principall which maſſacred the Conſtable, to be preſently executed: of which, two were the *Harecourts* brethren: and withall ſends away *Nauarre* vnder ſure guard to *Arras*, and his chiefeſt ſeruants to diuers priſons.

The *French* king commits the king of *Nauarre* priſoner.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſent into *Normandy* to aide the king of *Nauarres* brother and others.

1335. *Anno.* *Reg.* 29

This ſudden execution, though it gaue a preſent amazement, yet it wakened the partiſans of *Nauarre*, and eſpecially *Philip* his brother, who with *Geffrey Harecourt* (Vncle to the two brethren) paſt ouer into *England*, exclayming againſt this violent murther, inuoking King *Edward*, in a caſe of ſo notorious iniuſtice, to ayde them: offering their hearts, their goods, their townes and hauens, to let him into *Normandy*. The occaſion is entertayned, the Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent ouer with foure thouſand men at Armes, and by the aſſiſtance of this great party, winnes many ſtrong Townes.

Fifty ſhillings granted by Parliament of euery ſack of wooll, for ſixe yeares.

King *Edward* to be furniſhed for ſo great actions, hath by Parliament granted vnto him fifty ſhillings vpon euery ſacke of wooll, for ſixe yeares next enſuing: by which impoſition it was thought, (ſay our hiſtories) the King might diſpend a thouſand markes ſterling, a day. Such vent of woolles were there in that time. And preſently after the Parliament, in winter (to ſhew that hee was for all weathers) he goes

goes with an Army to recouer *Barwicke*, which had beene ſurpriſed by the *Scots*, whileſt he was laſt at *Calais*; and here hath hee not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* reſigned vnto him, by *Edward Baliol*, who helde himſelfe King thereof by the beſt title, but not beſt regarded: for King *Alexander* (though now Priſoner in *England*) had the moſt powerfull party there: and ſo both were Kings to their ſeuerall ſides that held them ſo: a miſerable diſtraction to that poore Kingdome. And euery where dwelt affliction but in *England*, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquiſhings, and Recouerings in all parts.

Edward Baliol reſignes the kingdome of King *Edward*, reſeruing to himſelfe a penſion.

The *Prince* enters *Guien*, paſſes ouer *Longuedoc* to *Tholouſe*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter in the field; ſacks, ſpoyles, deſtroyes where he goes, and loaden with bootie returnes to *Burdeaux*.

1336. *Anno. Reg.* 30

The *French* King thus aſſaulted on all ſides, gathers what power he poſsibly could, and firſt makes againſt his enemies in *Normandy*, recouers many of his loſt Townes; and was likely to haue there preuailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppoſe this freſh Inuador, the Prince of *Wales*, who was againe abroad, and come vp into *Toureyne*; againſt whom he brings his whole Armie, cauſing all the Townes and paſſages vpon the Riuer *Loyr* to be ſtrongly guarded: Whereupon the *Prince*, whoſe forces were not to encounter thoſe ſo mighty, was aduiſed to withdraw again thorow *Toureyn* and *Poyctou*, towards *Burdeaux*. The *French* King to preuent his courſe followes, and within two Leagues of *Poyctiers* hath him at a great aduantage. Two *Cardinals* at that inſtant came from the *Pope* to mediate a peace. The *French* King ſuppoſing he had his Enemy now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliuer him foure Hoſtages, and as vanquiſhed, render himſelfe and his Army to his diſcretion.

The *French* king hath the Prince of *Wales* at an aduantage.

The Prince was content to reſtore vnto him what he had gained vpon him, but without preiudice of his honour; wherein he ſaid: *Hee ſtood accomptable to his Father, and to his Country*. So the *Legates* perſwaſions (though earneſtly vrged) could preuaile nothing vpon the French Kings obſtinacy: who preſuming of victory (in regard his Army was ſixe to one) would inſtantly (as loath to looſe time to looſe himſelfe) ſet vpon the Prince: who reduced to this Straight, takes what aduantage he could of the ground, and prouidently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs and Buſhes, on that part hee was like to be aſſailed, to impeſter and intangle the *French* horſe, which he ſaw were to come furiouſly vpon him. The ſucceſſe anſwered his expectation, for behold the Cauallary of his enemies vpon their firſt aſſault, wrapt and incumbred amongſt the Vines, ſo that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleaſure.

The battayle of *Poytiers*, fought the 19 of September. 1336.

For the *French* King to giue the honour of the day to his Cauallarie (wherof he had cauſed a choice to bee elected out of euery company, to the diſcontent of the reſt (imployed them onely without his *Infantery*: So that they being diſordered, and put to rout, his whole Army came to be vtterly defeited.

The errors committed in the battaile of *Creſſie*, could not warne the King to auoide the like. For had hee had the patience to haue tymed it out awhile, the *Prince* could not haue poſsibly ſubſiſted, beeing thus iuuironed, and ſhutte vp from all ſuccours as hee was: and now thus furiouſly aſſaulted, and hauing no ſafety but what was to bee wrought by the Sword (which deſperation euer makes the ſharper.) Hee, and his ſhewed that admirable courage that day, as purchaſed them the moſt memorable glory that euer any Martiall action did, that was atchieued by the *Engliſh* with ſo fewe hands.

The *French* king taken priſoner.

Here was now the Head of that great Kingdome-claymed, taken Priſoner, with his youngeſt ſonne *Philip* (who valiantly defending his father, when his other brothers ſo ſooke him, had afterward the Title of *Hardy*, and became Duke of *Burgogne*) *Iaques de Borbon*, *Conte de Ponthieu*, the Arch-biſhop of *Sens*, *Iohn d' Artoys*, *Conte d' Eu*, *Charles d' Artoys*, his brother *Conte de Longneville*, *Charles Conte de Tancarville*, the *Conts* of *Vendoſme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of markes beſides 2000. Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen; in ſo much as the Conquerours, holding it not ſafe to retaine ſo many, let many of them goe.

The number of priſoners taken.

The slaine in the battaile.

The *French*, who can giue best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the battayle a thousand seauen hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two *Bannerets*: the most eminent, *Peter de Barbon*, the Duke of *Athens* Constable of *France*, *Ian de Clermont* Marshall, *Geffrey de Charny* High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this battaile three of the French Kings sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince Dauphin (and the first so intitled) *Lowys* after Duke of *Anion*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry*, all great actours in the time following.

This blow might seeme to haue beene enough to haue vtterly ouerthrowne that kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that it was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in seuerall parts, and contained so wide an extent of state, as all this blood letting could not dissolue it, or make it faint to giue ouer. And sure these powerfull kingdomes, howsoeuer they may be diseased, and suffer, either through the distemperature of their heads, or distractions of their other parts, can neuer (vnlesse by a generall dissolution) be so low brought, but they will recouer againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which neuer fayle all together.

A memorable act of *Iames* Lord *Audley*.

The Prince of *Wales* in this battaile, hath a double victory, the one by the sword the other by his Curtesie: first hee visits the captiue King, with all reuerence and regard of Maiesty, comforts him by examples of the fortunes of warre, and assures him of all faire entertainement according to his dignity. The especiall great men who were actors in this worke must not passe vnremembred, the Earles, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, *Basset*: *Of Gascoignes*, *Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *Iames Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who hauing vowed to bee formost in this fight, performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince hauing rewarded him with the gift of fiue hundred markes, Fee-simple in *England*, hee presently gaue it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him endured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, he answered how these men had deserued the same, as well as himselfe, and had more neede thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gaue him fiue hundred markes more in the same kind. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deseruings went not vnrewarded.

1333 *Anno.* *Reg.* 31

All things prouidently accomodated after the battayle, the Prince with his prisoners first retyres to *Burdeaux*, and then passes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of triumph. The *French* king is lodged at the *Sauoy*, then a goodly pallace of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*. Many prisoners vpon reasonable ransome, and many vpon the *French* kings word (vndertaking for them) are deliuered and sent home honourably. *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who had remayned prisoner eleuen yeares in *England*, is shortly after, by the earnest solicitation of *Ioan* his wife, sister to King *Edward*, set likewise at liberty for the ransome of a hundred thousand markes striulin, to bee paide in tenne yeares. The security now had of *France*, gaue way to this Princes liberty.

The state of *France* during their kings captiuity.

Aboue foure yeares the *French* King remained prisoner in *England*, in which time were many ouertures, and great offers made for his deliuery, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that kingdome (during the captiuity of his father) a Prince of great discretion, wrought all meanes possible to bring that factious people to yeelde their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little preuayled. The Parliament there called to consult thereof, rather augments the misery of the State, then prouides remedy. Wherein after the Dauphin had grauely deliuered the desolation and danger they were in, beeing thus depriued of their Head, and the necessity of recouering and relieuing the same, by their vtmost meanes: There was a choyce required of fifty to auoyde confusion) to bee made out of all the Prouinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receiue. These fifty, after many meetings, sends for the Dauphin to heare their reso-

lution

lution, which was much otherwiſe then hee expected. For in ſtead of ayde and ſubuention, they require reformation in the State. And firſt, the Biſhop of *Laon*, choſen their ſpeaker, beſought him to keepe ſecret what ſhould bee vttered vnto him by the *States*. The yong *Prince* anſwers: *That it were much preiudiciall to the degree hee held in the Kingdome, to take Law of his Fathers Subiects*: and therefore commaunded them (by their Allegeance) openly to reueale what they had in their hearts. The Biſhop thereupon, declares the euill managing of the Publike reuenues, demands redreſſe, and Commiſſioners appointed to call ſuch as were anſwerable, to yeeld their Accounts, *That all who had managed the Treaſury, ſhould bee depoſed from their Office*; *That both the moneys, and all the affaires of the State, ſhould from thencefoorth bee directed by foure Biſhops, and twelue Burgeſſes, whereof the City of* Paris *ſhould be chiefe*: *and that without this Councell the* Dauphin *ſhould doe nothing*: And in concluſion, they inſtantly require; *That the King of* Nauarre *might be ſet at liberty*. On which conditions they would yeeld any reaſonable ſubuention for redeeming their King.

To theſe harſh Demands, the *Dauphin* requires time to anſwer, which hee ſo puts off from day to day, (in hope thereby to ſeparate and diſ-vnite their Councels) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Aſſembly brake vp without doing any thing.

But this left ſuch a poyſon as infected the people, and ſpecially thoſe of *Paris*, who ſhortly after preſumptuouſly demand to haue the King of *Nauarre* deliuered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they ſo wrought with *Pinquigny*, the Gouernour of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand) as hee was deliuered after 19. moneths impriſonment, and comes to *Paris* ſo accompanyed, as ſhewed both of what ſpirit and ſtate he was, and that hee meant to take his time of reuenge. Here is he welcom'd with the applauſe of the whole City, to whom in publike manner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs hee had receiued; and beſides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*, thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combuſtion. This put the buſineſſe of redeeming the captiue King quite out of their mindes for that time: and the *Dauphin* is conſtrained (by an Acte of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Nauarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And ſeeing the peruerſeneſſe of the *Pariſians*, goes to ſolicite other Cities, and Prouinces: trauailing from place to place for aide and ſuccour, leauing his brother *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the beſt he could) during his abſence.

The king of *Nauarre* ſet at liberty.

The Prouince of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Hiſtories, for beeing the firſt that made the largeſt offer of aide towards the redemption of their King, in the Aſſembly of the three States at *Tholouſe*, wherein they promiſed to their Gouernour, the *Conte d' Arminiacq*, not onely to imploy their Reuenue, but their mooueables, and euen to ſell their wiues Iewels to raiſe the ſame. Beſides, to witneſſe their publike ſorrowe, they ordaine, that no coſtly Apparrell, Feaſting, Playes, or other iollyties, ſhould be vſed within their Prouince, during the time of their Kings captiuity. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could mooue the *Pariſians* to yeelde any thing. The King of *Nauarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanity, and put them into ſuch flames of rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the City, the Prouoſt of Marchants aſſaulted his houſe with three thouſand Artificers in Armes, and ruſhed himſelfe vp into his Chamber with certaine of his traine: wherewith the *Dauphin* being amazed, the Prouoſt bids him bee content, it was reſolued it muſt be ſo. And preſently vpon Signall giuen, *Ian de Couſlans*, and *Robert de Cleremont*, Marſhall of *France*, and his chiefe Counſellors, are ſlayne in his preſence. The *Dauphin* cryes out; *What meane you? Will you ſet vpon the Blood of* France? *Sir* (ſaid the Prouoſt) *Feare you not, it is not you we ſeeke, it is your diſloyall ſeruants, who haue euill counſailed you*. And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with gold, and ſets his owne, which was party coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Liuery of the City vpon ths *Dauphins* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a ſigne of *Dictator-ſhip*, cauſing the bodyes

of theſe two noble men to bee trayled along the ſtreetes to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murther, to gaſe on.

This done the Prouoſt writes in the name of the whole City, to all the great Townes, ſoliciting them to ioyne with theirs (the principall of the kingdome) and take their Liuery, as the Dauphin had done, for the reformation of thee ſtate. Beſides, they compoſe a Councell of themſelues, whereof the Biſhop of *Laon*, the Primier Preſident, the Prouoſt, with ſome of the Vniuerſity, were chiefe, aſſuming a Soueraigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealth. So that wee ſee in what a miſerable confuſion that kingdome ſtood, beeing without a head, and how apt it was then to ſhake off all authority, and diſſolue the gouernment into parts: ſhewing vs that it was no new proiect amongſt them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late practiſed to doe, in their leagues during their ciuill combuſtions.

The Dauphin thus diſgraced, with much a doe, gets out of this tumultuous Citie, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* aſſembles the ſtates of the Country, whom he found loyall, and ready to yeeld him all ſuccour. The reſt of the great Townes refuſing (with much diſdaine) to ioyne with the City of *Paris*, offer him likewiſe their ayde: So that he was put into ſome heart, and likely to effect his deſires in ſhort time, had not the King of *Nauarre*, who ſought his deſtruction, ſtill rayſed new broyles in the ſtate, and taken Armes againſt him.

France ſpoiled by the ſouldiers and others on all ſides.

Now beſides theſe confuſions, greater miſchiefes aroſe in that miſerable Kingdome: the poore Payſants that had beene eaten out by the ſouldiours, and troden vnder foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themſelues in the Countrey of *Beauuoyſis*, and turne head vpon the Gentry, and ſuch as had done them wrong, ſpoyling, ſacking, burning their houſes, killing their wiues and children in moſt outragious manner. This was not all, troupes of ſouldiers which had no worke or meanes to liue, ioyne together in mighty Companies, ouer-runne and rauage other parts of the kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Knoles*, breake out vpon the confining Countries, and returne loaden with ineſtimable booties of wealth. All which miſerable calamities (enough to haue vtterly diſſolued a ſtate) prolong the impriſonment of their King in *England*; ſo that nothing could bee effected for his ranſome, which King *Edward* thinkes long till he haue in his Treaſury: and vrges likewiſe for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, ſay they, beſides infinite ſummes, that King *Iohn* ſhould doe homage, and holde the kingdome of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which hee with great diſdaine refuſes, as beeing not in his power to alien what was vnalienable, vowing that no miſery of his, ſhould conſtrayne him to doe any thing preiudiciall to his ſucceſſors, to whom hee would leaue the ſtate as hee receiued it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions then the *French* were willing to yeeld vnto, which beeing long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeares expectation) King *Edward* in great diſpleaſure, reſolues to make an end of this worke with the ſword, and to take poſſeſſion of the kingdome of *France*. And ouer hee paſſes to *Calais*, with a Fleete of eleauen hundred ſayle. His Army hee deuides into three battailes, one hee commits to the Prince of *Wales*,, another to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the third hee leades himſelfe. And firſt hee marches to the City of *Aras*, which hee takes within three dayes, Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Neuers*, are rendered vnto him. The Duchy of *Burgogne* terrified with theſe examples, redeemes it ſelfe from ſpoyle, vpon paying two hundred thouſand Florins of golde. Furniſhed with which treaſure, and booties by the way, vp King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who had now the title of Regent, hauing lately ouercome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common danger flocked together to defend their Country) and would not (by the example of his father and Grandfather) bee drawne out to hazard vpon any attempt, but ſtood onely vpon his defences: which the King of *England* ſeeing, after many prouocations, rayſed his ſiege, and returnes into *Brittaine* to refreſh his Army.

King *Edward* goes to take poſſeſſion of the kingdome of *France*.

Anno.

Reg. 34

In

In the meane time the Regent layes in mighty ſtore of victuals, prouides that the Souldiers ſhould haue enough without preſsing the inhabitants, and with extreame diligence ſo fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreſhed power, was vtterly diſappointed of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great Citty which was like to haue endangered the whole kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preſerue it.

From hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpoſe to beſiege that Citie, but being by an horrible tempeſt of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell vpon his Army, ſo terrified as he vowed to make peace with the *French* King, vpon any reaſonable conditions, as he ſhortly after did, at the treaty of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, vpon theſe Articles. That the country of *Poicton*, the *Fiefes* of *Thouars*, and *Belleville*, the Countrie of *Gaſcoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limoſin*, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rouergne*, *Angoulmois* in ſoueraignte, with the Homages of the Lords within thoſe Territories, *Monſtruel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merk*, *Sangote Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales* and *Onis* ſhould bee to the King of *England*: who beſides was to haue three Millions of Scutes of gold: whereof ſixe hundred thouſand preſently in hand, foure hundred thouſand the yeere following, and the Surplus in two yeeres after inſuing, vpon reaſonable payment. The Treaty of Accord concluded at *Britigny*.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them, as their Succeſſors for euer, ſhould renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the *Duchy* of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Aniou*, *Maine*, the Soueraignte and Homage of the Dutchy of *Britaigne*, and the Earledome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *Iohn* to be rendred at *Callais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his houſe. For aſſurance of which accord ſhould be giuen into his hand Hoſtages: *Louys* Duke of *Anion*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry* (King *Iohns* ſonnes) *Philip* Duke of *Orleance* his brother, *Iohn* Duke of *Burgogne*, the *Conts* of *Bloys*, *Alenſon*, *Saint Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand*, *Pre*, *de Brenne des Forreſts*, the Lords *Vaudemont*, *Couſcy*, *Piennez*, *de Saint Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Momerancy de Garanciecis*, *La Roche guion*, *Eſtou-teuille*, *Le Dauphin d' Auergne*, *d' Andrigil*, *de Craon*, ſufficient cautions for the ſaid Summes, and conditions. The *Scots* not to be ayded by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *Engliſh*. *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and his brother *Philip* are comprehended likewiſe in theſe Articles, &c. *Vid. Append.*

This treatie of good accord and finall Peace, ſignified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldeſt ſonnes; *Edward*, and *Charles*: and ſworne vnto by the Nobilitie of both Kingdomes. The Hoſtages are deliuered vnto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into *England*, leauing the Earle of *Warwicke* in *France*, to haue a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *Iohn* is honourably conducted to *Callais*, attending the promiſed Summe, the firſt gage of his libertie. The Citie of *Paris* yeelds one thouſand Royals; by whoſe example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *Iohn* deliuered, after hauing remained Priſoner in *England* neere about fiue yeeres. And both Kings depart in kinde manner, with all demonſtrations of brotherly Loue. King *Iohn* deliuered.

1361. *Anno Reg.* 35

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, calles a Parliament, wherein, the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Eſtates, and an Oath taken by the Nobles to obſerue the ſame for their partes. Here the King reſtores to the Priors *Aliens*, their Houſes, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them *Anno Reg.* 12. for the maintenance of his *French*, Warres: which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Pattents, in as free manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a iuſt King, being ſeldome ſeene that Princes let goe any thing, whereon they haue once faſtned.

Now againe, was the ioy and glory that *England* receiued by their gettings, ſeaſoned with the ſowreneſſe of another mortalitie, called *The ſecond Peſtilence*, whereof dyed many Noble men, the chiefe was *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, of the Royall blood, a Prince of great note for wiſedome and valour: who had beene an eſpeciall Actor in all theſe Warres, and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*: whoſe The ſecond great Peſtilence.

Anno. Reg.36

whoſe Daughter and Heyre was a little before martyed to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* (by diſpenſation being neere of conſanguinitie) whereby he is made Duke of *Lancaſter*. And ſhortly after, by the like Diſpenſation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Counteſſe of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the ſecond. And ſo both are prouided of Matches within the Kingdome. The King giues to the Prince of *Wales*, the Duchy of *Aquitaine*, reſeruing to himſelfe Homage and Fealtie, and ſhortly after ſends him ouer with his wife, and Court to liue there. His ſonne *Lionell* Earle *Vlſter* is ſent into *Ireland*, with a regiment of 1500. men to guard his Earledome againſt the *Iriſh*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* in *Nouember*, which continued vntill the feaſt of Saint *Brice*, King *Edwards* Birth-day, and the fiftieth yeere of his age. Wherein for a *Iubilie* he ſhewes himſelfe extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releaſing priſoners, reuoking Exiles, &c. And vpon petition of the Commons, cauſes *Pleas* which before were in *French*, to be made in *Engliſh*, that the ſubiect might vnderſtand the Law, *by which hee holds what he hath, and is to know what hee doth*: A bleſſed act and worthy ſo great a King, who if he could thereby haue rendered the ſame alſo perſpicuous, it had beene a worke of eternall honour, but ſuch is the Fate of Law, that in what language ſoeuer it ſpeakes, it neuer ſpeakes plaine, but is wrapt vp in ſuch difficulties and myſteries (as all profeſsions of profit are) as it giues more affliction to the people then it doth remedy. Here was alſo an act paſſed for Purueiors (as there had beene many before in his time) that nothing ſhould be taken vp but for ready money, vpon ſtrict puniſhment. For retribution of which relieuements the Parliament granted ſixe and twenty ſhillings eight pence for tranſportation of euery ſacke of wooll for three yeeres. Thus all were pleaſed, ſauing, the remouing of the Saple, from the Townes of *England* to *Calais*, was ſome grieuance to thoſe whom it concerned. Yet the Kings deſire to inrich that Towne, being of his owne acquiſition, and now a member of the Crowne of *England*, might herein be well borne withall. And ſure this King, the moſt renowmed for valour and *Goodneſſe*, that euer raigned in this kingdome, not onely laboured to aduance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices whereunto fortunate and opulent States are euermore ſubiect) as may bee noted in the next Parliament held at *Weſtminſter Anno Reg.* 37. wherein for the publike Good, certaine Sumptuary lawes, the moſt neceſſarie to preuent Ryot (that diſſoluing ſickneſſe, the feuer Hectique of a State) were ordained both for Apparell and Dyet; appointing euery degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffe and Habits they ſhould weare: prohibiting the adornements of Gold and Siluer, Silkes, and rich Furres to all, except eminent perſons. Whereby forraine ſuperfluities were ſhut out, and home-made Commodities only vſed. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates hee ſhould eate, &c. whereby *Gluttony* and *Drunkenneſſe*, thoſe hideous euils which haue ſince vtterly diſfaſhioned and infeebled the *Engliſh* Nation, were auoided. So carefull was this frugall King for preſeruing the eſtates of his ſubiects from Exceſſe.

Vid Stat.

Vid. Stat.

And as prouident was hee for the ordering of his owne, committing his treaſure to the ſafeſt Cheſt that Religion could keepe lockt. For by a certificat *Anno Reg.*39. ſent to Pope *Vrbane*, concerning Pluralities, and the eſtates of Church-men in *England*, there were found more of the Spiritualty which bare office about this King, then any other of Chriſtendome beſide. As firſt *Simon Langham* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, was Chancelor of *England*, *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Priuie Seale: *David Weller*, Parſon of *Somerſham*, Maſter of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Prieſts Ciuilians, Maſters of Chancery: *William Mulſe* Deane of Saint *Martins le Grand*, Chiefe Chamberlaine of the *Exchequer*, Receiuer and Keeper of the Kings treaſure and Iewels: *William Askby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancelor of the *Exchequer*: *William Dighton* Prebendary of Saint *Martins*, Clarke of the Priuy Seale: *Richard Cheſterfield* Prebend of Saint *Stephans*, Treaſurer of the Kings houſe: *Henry Snatch* Parſon of *Oundall*, Maſter of the Kings Warde-robe: *Iohn Newnham*

Cleargy men Officers to the King.

Newnham, Parſon of *Fenni-ſtanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treaſurie and Iewels: *Iohn Rouſbie*, Parſon of *Harwick*, Surueior and Comptroler of the Kings works: *Thomas Britingham* Parſon of *Asbie*, Treaſurer to the King for the partes of *Guiſnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*: *Iohn Troys* Treaſurer of *Ireland* a Prieſt, and beneficed there. Theſe men, beeing without thoſe Feminine Ginnes of attraction and conſumption, deuoted onely to Sanctitie, were thought then fitteſt to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to viſite the King of *England*, The King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, and the Kings of *Cypres*: The occaſions that mooued the *French* King might be diuers, but it ſeemes the ſpecial were to free ſome Hoſtages that remained heere, and to cleare ſuch imputations as were had of him, for not obſeruing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much diſcontented, and many difficulties aroſe among them: ſo that in an Aſſembly of the States at *Paris*, certaine particular Lords, whoſe Homages were paſſed ouer to the King of *England*, proteſted againſt it; *Alledging, how that the King could not diſpoſe of the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome, nor alien his Domaine, and therefore they would not obey it.* The *French* King notwithſtanding, leaſt King *Edward* ſhould thinke this but a colluſion betweene him and his ſubiects, publiſhes his Commandement for the obſeruation of the Accord, and thereof certifies King *Edward*. Beſides, he had vndertaken a iourney for the *Holy warres*, and deſired to ſettle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might be the occaſion of his comming, and not his loue to the Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, as is reported. But howſoeuer, this King ſhewed a ſtrange diſpoſition to returne to the Gaole, where he had indured ſo much affliction, and where ſhortly after his comming, hee ended his life, much lamented of the King of *England*, who ſolemnly attended his Corps to *Douer*, whence it was conuayed to Saint *Denys*, and entombed with his Anceſtors.

The death of King *Iohn* of *France*.

1364

Anno.

Reg. 38

The debate for the Duchie of *Britaigne*, is about this time determined by the death of *Charles de Bloys* ſlaine in a Battaile neere *Vannes*, by *Iohn de Monfort*, and the *Engliſh* Forces, led by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Iohn Cyandos*, and Sir *Hugh Cauerley*. *Iohn de Montfort* marries *Mary* daughter to King *Edward*, and by his conſent doth his homage for the Duchie, to *Charles* (now King of *France*) compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Bloys* for a ſumme of money, and ſome eſtate in land.

The buſineſſe of Britaine accomdated for a time.

And here we haue ſome time of reſt, which the Souldier whom the warre had bred, could not well brooke. The caſt Companies in *France*, though they had no Head, yet had ſtrong bodies, and did much miſchiefe in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were imployed in the Warres of *Spaine*, which fell out ſhortly after. A Company of them paſſed ouer into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Iohn Hawcut*, a great Warriour, who found ſuch entertainment with the Princes there (where he reuiued Militarie diſcipline, that had laine long vnuſed among them) and got ſuch honour and eſtate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his *Statue* amongſt their memorable Princes for action and vertue, though he went but a *Taylor* out of this Kingdome, which in thoſe dayes could haue furniſhed the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

The *Italians* cal him *Iohannes de Acuto*.

And now heere haue wee brought this mightie King to the Fortieth yeere of his Raigne, which had it beene his laſt, wee had left him the moſt glorious and triumphant Prince in the world, to whom *Fortune* neuer yet ſhewed her backe, neuer was retrograd. But now theſe laſt ten yeeres preſent vs with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemiſhes that age and frailtie brought vpon him. This new King of *France*, *Charles* the fift, Intituled *The wiſe*; recouered great aduantages vpon him, hauing in the life time of his Father ſtrugled ſo with affliction (a better Miſtreſſe of wiſedome then proſperitie) and learned ſo well to know a Crowne before he had it, as now hee manages the ſame with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preſeruation of that State conſiſted more in counſell then force (which had beene too aduenturouſly imployed by his Father and Grand-father) he workes his fortune by lying ſtill, hauing excellent aydes and

Anno.

Re. 40.

and ministers to execute his designes, and labour for him: of whom for his warres, *Guesclin* a *Brittaine* whom hee made Constable of *France*, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to be recouered.

1367. *Anno Reg.* 41

The Prince of *Wales* remaining in his Duchy of *Aquitayne*, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many military attendants, without worke, is solicited by *Peter* King of *Castile*, chased out of his Kingdome by his bastard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recouer the same: which the Prince vpon great promises of remuneration, vndertakes by the consent of his father. The cause was better then the person. For this *Peter* sonne to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, had committed so tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his subiects, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to inrich himselfe, putting away, and after murthering his wife (which was daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, and sister to the now Queene of *France*) by the instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom hee afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his brother *Henry* (who though he were a bastard by his birth was more Legittimate by his vertues then hee, who was more a bastard by his vices) crowned him King of *Spaine* at *Bargos*, and forced *Peter* to flye the kingdome. This *Peter thus* reiected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirtie thousand, attended by his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-inuest in his kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and those floting companies fore-remembred, led by *Guesclin* Constable, and *Dandrehen* Marshall of *France*; hauing besides of Castilians, Christians, and Sarasins so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundred thousand men. Vpon the borders of *Castile* it came to a Battaile, the Prince of *Wales* hath the victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken prisoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Bargos*.

The Prince of *Wales* aydes the King of *Castile*.

The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could not, or cared not to prouide, but staruing him with delayes, inforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without money to pay his Army, and which was worse without health, which he neuer after recouered. This successe had this vnfortunate action, vndertaken to right an vngratefull Tyrant, who afterward notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken, and put to death, by his brother *Henry*. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, hee combined with a Prince of the *Sarazins*, married his daughter, and renounced the Christian faith: but it is commonly the reward of euill princes to be made worse then they are.

The Prince obtaines the victory in *Spaine*.

The Prince of *Wales* returning thus out of *Spaine*, charged with more debts then before, and destitute of meanes to content his people, fals vpon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies increase maladies) imposing a new taxation vpon the *Gascoignes*, of Feuage, or Chymney money, so discontented the people, as they exclaime against the gouernment of the *English*, and appeale to the King and Court of *France* for redresse. The King of *France*, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned ouer by the accord to hold of the Crowne of *England*, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of *Wales* at *Burdeaux* with sommons to answere before him and his Court at *Paris*, to these complaints.

The ill successe of that iourney.

1369 *Anno Reg.* 43

Now had the Lords of *Arminiaque*, *D' Albert*, *Peregort*, *Cominges*, and many others, made their protestations against the King of *England*, for the Crowne of *France*, which, they say, *they were by nature to obey, and not to a strange Soueraigne: that it was absolutely against the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdome, to disseuer them from the Crowne: that the Contract was made in prison, and therefore incuill, and not to be held by the right of Nations*. So that they were resolued to spend their liues and estates, rather then bee vnder the gouernment of *England*. By their example the Cities of the County of *Ponthieu* rendered themselues to *Guy* Conte de Saint *Poll*, and *Guy de Chastillon*.

The Emperour *Charles* 4. makes a iourny into *France* to reconcile the two Kings

The King of *England* complaines of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour *Charles* 4. who made a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two Kings, and determine the businesse. Before whom our Ambassadours first declare *how this*

Accord

Accord, hauing beene more for the good of France *then vs, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to* Normandie, Touraine, *and* Aniou, *the faireſt and richeſt Countries of* France: *But alſo our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in Soueraignty the Duchy of* Aquitayne, *the County of* Ponthieu, *with ſome other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertained to the Crowne of* England, *whereby the effuſion of Chriſtian blood was ſtayed,* France *had peace, and their King reſtored in faire manner, after a faire impriſonment, and vpon the moſt reaſonable Conditions could bee deuiſed: Notwithſtanding the* French *King, (who himſelfe, with the whole Councell of* France *contracted the Accord, and ſolemnly ſwore to obſerue the ſame) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recouered his Hoſtages by fraud) ſeazed both vpon the Duchy of* Aquitayne, *and the Country of* Ponthieu, *without denouncing Warre, by his Heralds, &c.*

The allegations of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors before the *Emperour.*

Vid. Append.

The French Reply: *How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to with-draw our Army out of* France, *which they ſay we did not, during all the Reigne of their King* Iohn: *That the Peace was thereby made more offenſiue then the War, they being conſtrained to purchaſe the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge then would haue maintained an Armie. That the breach was on our ſide, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King* Edward *was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of* France, *in open Aſſembly of the States of both Realmes, which they ſay was not done. And concerning the releaſing of their King: they ſay, it coſt* France *more gold, then the redeeming of Saint* Louys *their King, his brother, the Peeres, and the whole Armie, taken by the* Soldan, *an Infidell.* Thus both ſides defend their cauſe, being eaſie for Princes who will breake out of their Couenants to finde enaſions. The *French* King (it ſeemes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renue a Warre, and therefore with many Preſents courts the King of *England:* Who ſeeing himſelfe thus deluded, prepares to haue out his Sword. And hauing borrowed great ſummes of the Clergie, ſends ouer *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Humphry Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, with a mightie Armie to *Calais*, to inuade *France* on this ſide; whiles the Prince of *Wales* workes to recouer the reuolted Townes on the other. But little was effected, The Duke ſhortly returnes. And then *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, with freſh ſupplies is ſent ouer, who dyes in the iourney. Sir *Robert Knoles* a man renowned in thoſe times for valour and counſell, is made Leader of an Army, conſiſting of many great Lords, who diſdaining to bee commanded by him whom they held their inferiour, ouerthrew themſelues, and the Action.

The Reply of the *French.*

Anno. *Re.* 44

Forces ſent into *France.*

Thus all went backe, and the *French* King growes both in State and Alliance. *Margueret*, ſole daughter and Heire to *Louys* Earle of *Flanders*, to whom King *Edward* ſought to match his ſonne *Edmond*, is wonne to marry *Philip Le Hardy* Duke of *Burgogne*, brother to the *French* King. And this much vexes King *Edward*, who the better to furniſh himſelfe for reuenge, calles a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein hee reſumes his claime to the Crowne of *France*, and requires ayde of his Subiects and hath it. The Clergie granted him, fiftie thouſand pounds, to be payde the ſame yeere: and the Laitie as much. For the leuying whereof, euery Pariſh in *England* was firſt to pay 23. ſhillings foure pence (the great helping the leſſe) vpon ſuppoſit there had beene Pariſhes ynough to haue made vp that ſumme. But by certificate vpon the Kings Writs ſent out to examine what number of Pariſh Churches were in euery Shire, they found it came ſhort: and then rated euery Pariſh at fiue pound ſixteene ſhillings (the greater to helpe the leſſe) and ſo, of 8600. Pariſhes, found to be in the 37. Shires, 50. thouſand, 181. pound, 8. pence was raiſed. But in regard of the great pouertie of *Suffolke* and *Deuon-ſhire*, the 181. pound was abated, and the King anſwered fiftie thouſand pounds for the Laytie.

Anno. *Reg.* 45

A Subſidie granted by Parliament, and the manner of ſeizing the ſame.

Vpon this Supply the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of *Forreſts*, ſhould be obſerued in all points: which in moſt Parliaments of his, is euer the firſt Act; as may bee ſeene in the printed Statutes. And now *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, are ſent with Forces into *Aquitayne*, to ayde the Prince of *Wales*, who after he had ſacked the Citie of *Limoges*, that was reuolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaues the proſecution of the Warre to

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſent into *Aquitaine.*

The Prince of *Wales* returnes into *England.*

to his brother: and with his wife, and yong ſonne *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, returnes home into *England*, and here reſignes vnto his father the Duchy of *Aquitayne.*

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but beeing now a widdower (his wife dying two yeeres before, in the third great Peſtilence, in which yeere alſo *Philippe* wife to King *Edward* ended her life) hee marries *Conſtance* eldeſt daughter to *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, by whom hee had the empty title of King, and was (after the death of his father-in-law) ſtiled King of *Caſtile* and *Leon.* This *Conſtance*, though ſhee were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was ſo happy, that the daughter ſhe had by this Duke of *Lancaſter*, named *Katherine*, became after Queene of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, (being married to *Henry* third in poſſeſsion before, and in her right King of both thoſe Realmes) and left her poſteritie Kings of *Spaine.* *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, married alſo at the ſame time *Iſabell* the yongeſt daughter of King *Peter*, and both ſhortly after returned into *England*, though without victory, yet with wiues. *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, a little before, marries *Violenta*, the Duke of *Millaines* daughter in *Italy*, where they feaſted him ſo as ſhortly after he died.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* marries *Conſtance* daughter to the King of *Caſtile.*

1372. *Anno.* *Re.* 46

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the *Engliſh*, had indured a long ſiege both by Sea and land, to releeue which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is ſent with forty ſhippes well manned and victualled, and beſides furniſhed with twentie thouſand markes to defrey the voyage, who incountring the *Spaniſh* Armado ſent to ayde the *French* in this ſiege (by *Henry* now King of *Caſtile*) after a long and eruell conflict, is taken priſoner, and his Nauy vtterly deſtroyed. King *Edward* himſelfe, though now aged, ſets forth, with a mighty Army to recouer theſe loſſes, but thereby loſt more, the windes with his fortune being againſt him, beat him backe, hauing ſpent in this preparation nine hundred thouſand markes.

The Earle of *Pembrooke* taken priſoner by the *Spaniard.*

1373. *Anno.* *Re.* 47.

Shortly after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, paſſes ouer againe to *Calais* with another Army, which hee leads through *France*, by the way of *Auergne*, where amongſt the mountaines he loſt many of his people for want of victuals, and almoſt all his horſe, ſo that he came to *Burdeaux* with a ſtarued and diſtreſſed company, which after ſome time he releeues and made certaine attempts vpon the enemy, but effected nothing, the date of victories was out, all went ill with the *Engliſh.* The Duke returnes the next yeere, and all *Gaſcoigne* reuolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon.*

Another Subſidie granted by Parliament.

King *Edward* hath another ſupply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Cleargy, and a fifteenth of the Laytie, towards theſe warres: which now are ſought to bee ended by treaty, an vnlikely way to doe any good. Two yeeres are ſpent therein, at *Burges* and other places, with great charge of Commiſsioners, and much debate. The *French* hauing now the aduantage of the time, would make their owne conditions, they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remooued his Staple, in regard of the danger of Marchants goods) and reſtitution of great ſummes of money, which were not to be yeelded: So that nothing but tempory Truces were to be gotten to ſerue preſent ſhifts, wherein the *Engliſh*, and their party, had euer the worſe.

1376. *Anno* *Reg.* 50

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter* which was called the good Parliament.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* with others baniſhed the Court.

And here at home, beſides the ſickneſſe of the Prince (which grew deſperate) the State is diſeaſed, the Kings age is miſled, his treaſure exhauſted, and his affaires ill managed. A Parliament to cure theſe euils, is called at *Weſtminſter*, the Kings wants are opened, and ſupplyes required: the whole body of the Aſſembly, weary to beare theſe continuall burthens, in ſteed of Contributions, exhibit Complaints, charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlayne, Dame *Alice Peirce*, the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be amooued from Court. Their Complaints and deſire are ſo vehemently vrged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter La Mare*, as the King rather then not to be ſupplyed, gaue way vnto them, and all theſe perſons are preſently put from Court. The Prince was held to fauour their proceeding, for there ſeemes to bee no good correſpondence betweene him and his brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who now managed all vnder his aged father, and whoſe ambi-

tion

tion might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom he was like to leaue to his mercy.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeere of his raigne, to gratifie his Subiects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Iubile*; wherein onely *William Wicham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is excepted, being lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaſter* fallen into the Kings diſpleaſure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Iubile* was ſoone turned to ſorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales* which happened in this Parliament time. A heauy loſſe to the State, being a Prince of whom we neuer heard any ill, neither receiued other note then of goodnes, and the nobleſt performances, that Magnanimity and Wiſedome could euer ſhew: in ſo much, as what praiſe can be giuen to Vertue, is due vnto him. His death changed the face of affaires. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called *the good Parliament*, now wrought ill effects. Sr. *Peter de la Mare*, at the ſuite of *Alice Pierce*, an impudent woman (working vpon the Kings impotencies) is committed to perpetuall impriſonment at *Notingham*. An acte without example of former times, and did no good in this, eſpecially beeing wrought by ſuch a ſubiect. This woman preſuming vpon the Kings fauour, whom ſhe had ſubdued, grew ſo inſolent (the common euill of ſuch fortunes) that ſhee entermedled with Courts of Iuſtice and other Offices, where ſhe her ſelfe would ſit to effect her deſires: which, though in all who are ſo exalted, are euer exceſsiue, yet in a woman moſt immoderate, as hauing leſſe of diſcretion, and more of greedineſſe.

Another *Iubile*.

The death of the Prince of *Wales*.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* returnes with the reſt, to the Court.

The reuenge and behauiour of *Alice Pierce*.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* is come now to haue the Regency, and to manage all the affaires of the Kingdom, and might thereby preſume farther. But King *Edward*, to preuent the miſchiefes, which by diſordering the ſucceſsion might grow in the Kingdome, prouidenty ſetled the ſame in the Parliament, vpon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him firſt Earle of *Cheſter* and *Cornewall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his preſent ſafety, leaſt, *Iohn* of *Lancaſter* ſhould ſupplant him, as Earle *Iohn* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like caſe. For (ſure it ſeemes) the Duke had his deſigne that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and ſhortly after a breach with the Citizens of *London*, put him ſo by, as hee durſt not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet hee behaues himſelfe very imperiouſly in this ſtate hee had. And firſt ſhewes his authority on the Earle of *March*, commanding him ouer to the guarding of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuſes, and rather yeeldes vp his Rodde, with the Office of *Marſhall*, then obey his commandement therin. The Duke takes the Rodde, and giues it with the Office, to Sir *Henry Percy*, a man moſt inward with him.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* gouernes all.

Richard of *Burdeaux* created Prince of *Wales*.

The Earle of March reſignes his Office of Marſhall, which is giuen to Sir *Henry Percy*.

Shortly after, the Parliament is aſſembled againe at *Weſtminſter* (whether a new; or the laſt prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himſelfe brings Prince *Richard* (of the age of a 11. yeares) places him in the Kings Seat, and taught him to demaund a Subſidie. Which was two Tenths, to bee payde in one yeare: Or twelue pence in the pound of al Marchandizes ſold, for one yeare; and one pound of ſiluer for euery Knights Fee; and of euery Fire-houſe one penny. And this Demand the Duke earneſtly vrges, Saying, one of them ought of neceſsitie to be granted, in regard the Enemy proclayming Warre, purpoſed to inuade the Realme.

Iohn Sow.

The Prince motions a Subſidy in diuers kinds.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they ſayd, had by practiſe made, and put by all of the laſt Aſſembly, except twelue which hee could not alter) require reſpite to anſwere: a day is appointed. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliuer their anſwere. The other would haue Sir *Peter de la Mare* to bee inlarged, and deliuer theirs; and alſo anſwere to what could be obiected againſt him, before the Lords in Parliament, and thereto ſubmitte himſelfe. Then the Duke demaunds ayde of the Biſhops. They refuſe to treate therein, without their Brother, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, prohibited from comming to the Parliament.

The Parliament diuided.

Now there fell out an Accident, that beſides gaue interruption to this buſineſſe. A certaine Diuine, named *Iohn Wicliff*, depriued by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* of a

 benefice

A diſſention about *Iohn Wicliffe.*

benefice in *Oxford*, which hee was found vniuſtly to holde, had heretofore, beeing diſcontented (the humour that commonly breedes Sciſme) inueighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles againſt the abuſes of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then ſo free from ſcandall, but might well be taxed) and had by his doctrine there, and in *London* wonne many Diſciples vnto him (who after were called Lollards) profeſsing pouerty, going bare-footed, and poorely cladde in ruſſet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get paſſage into the opinion of the people, apt to imbrace nouelties, and vſually beguiled by diſguiſes, in regard they rather *beleeue* then *iudge*. Amongſt other his Doctrines, he taught that neyther King or other Secular Lord, could giue any thing in *Perpetuitie* vnto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of ſuch religious perſons to relieue them in their neceſsities, by the example of *William Rufus*, &c. A doctrine very pleaſing to great men, who commonly imbrace Sects, either for ambition to get, or for iealouſie not to loſe, or for hatred to reuenge.

His doctrine.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* fauours *Wicliffe* and why.

This man, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Sir *Henry Percy*, much fauour and cheriſh, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him ſo farre preſume, as hee dayly in one Church or other publiſhed his opinions without feare: whereupon at length hee is cited to anſwere before the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of *London* and others, in *Paules*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord Marſhall goe to conduct him: by the way hee is animated by his followers not to feare the Biſhops, and entring into *Paules*, the preſſe is ſo great, as hardly any paſſage could be made, whereupon the Marſhall vſing ſome violence, thruſt in vpon the people, which *Courtney*, Biſhop of *London* prohibited him to doe, ſaying: *If he had knowne he would haue behaued himſelfe ſo in that place, hee ſhould not haue come into the Church.* The Duke hearing theſe words, angerly replyed, *That the Marſhall ſhould execute his authority, whether he would or not.* When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Biſhops, ſitting downe, *Iohn Wicliffe* (ſent for in by the Lord Marſhall) was by himſelfe willed to ſit downe, in regard hee ſaide, the man had much to anſwere, and needed a conuenient ſeat. The Biſhop of *London* told him, it was againſt all law and reaſon, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit: hereupon contumelious words aroſe betweene the Lord Marſhall and the Biſhop, the Duke takes the Marſhals part, and ſharpely reprehended the Biſhop, the Biſhop returnes the like to the Duke, who in great rage, ſeeing he could not preuayle, ſwore *hee would pull downe the pride of him, and all the Biſhops of* England. *You truſt, ſaid hee, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing. I truſt not in my Parents,* ſaid the Biſhop, *nor in any man liuing, but in God in whom I ought to truſt.* The Duke, as if whiſpering in his eare, told him, *hee had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, then ſuffer theſe indignities*: which words the *Londoners* ouer-hearing, ſwore with a loud voyce, *they would rather loſe their liues, then ſuffer their Biſhop to be thus iniuriouſly vſed, and threatned to be pulled out of his owne Church.* Their fury was the more incenſed againſt the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof hee was preſident) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there ſhould be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captaine appointed for the gouernment of the City, and that the Lord Marſhall of *England* ſhould arreſt offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

The conuention of *Wicliffe* before the Biſhops in *Pauls.*

The Citizens of *London* take their Biſhops part.

The Citizens in vproare.

About this buſineſſe, and this wrong offered to their Biſhop, the Citizens aſſembling the morrow after, to conſult among themſelues, it happened the Lord *Fitzwater*, and *Guido Brian*, came into the City, which the people ſeeing, furiouſly ranne vpon them, and were like to beate them downe for comming vnſent for, at that time. The Lord *Fitzwater* proteſted he came to no other ende, but to offer his ſeruice to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take iniuries offered to them, as to himſelfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they preſently take Armes, aſſayle the Marſhalls Inne, breake open the gates, brought foorth a priſoner in his Gyues, and let him at liberty, but found not

not the Lord Marſhall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one *Iohn de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude run to aſſayle the *Sauoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes ſeeing, haſtes to the place where his Maſter dyned, and acquaints him with this vp-roare in this City. The Duke leapes from the Table ſo haſtily, that hee hurt both his ſhinnes in the Fourme, and with Sir *Henry Piercy*, alone takes boate, and away he gets to *Kennington*, neere *Lambeth*, where the Princeſſe with the young Prince lay; to whom he complaynes of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the *Sauoy*, a Prieſt inquiſitiue to know the buſineſſe, was anſwered, *They went to take the* Duke *and the* Lord Marſhall, *and compell them, to deliuer* Sir Peter de la Mare, *vniuſtly detained in priſon.* The Prieſt replyed; *That Sir* Peter *was a traytour to the* King, *and worthy to be hanged.* At which words they all cryed out; *This is* Piercie, *this is the traytour of* England, *his ſpeech bewrayes him though his Apparrell be diſguiſed:* and preſently they ran vpon him, and wounded him to death.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* in danger flees to the Princeſſe.

The Biſhop of *London* hearing of this Out-rage, leaues his dinner, haſtes to the *Sauoy*, admoniſhes them *to be mindfull of the Holy time, beeing Lent) and for the loue of* Chriſt *to deſiſt from ſuch ſeditious acts; aſſuring them, al things ſhould be fairely ended for the good of the City.* Whereupon they were ſomething pacified, and forbeare to aſſault the Dukes houſe, whoſe perſon (if they could haue found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marſhall in this their fury, at that time; but miſsing him, they yet hung vp his Armes reuerſed, in ſigne of treaſon in all the principall ſtreetes of the City.

The Biſhop of *London* appeaſes the tumult.

The Princeſſe from *Kennington*, ſent *Albert de Vere, Louys Clifford*, and *Simon Burleigh* to the citizens, perſwading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this anſwere, *That for her Honour they would doe whatſoeuer ſhee commanded*: but yet enioyned the Knights, to will the Duke, *to permit the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Peter de la Mare *to come to their Anſwere, according to the cuſtome of the Lawes of* England. They ſent likewiſe of the chiefe Citizens to the ſicke *King*, to excuſe them of this Tumult, proteſting *themſelues not to be priuy thereunto, but ſought all meanes to ſuppreſſe the ſame, which they could not doe (the whole Communalty being in commotion) vpon an Information, that their Liberties ſhould be taken away from them by Parliament.* The King tolde them, *It neuer was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but hee rather deſired to enlarge them.* And therefore willed them not to feare, but returne to appeaſe the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleaſed with this anſwere. But yet they could not ſtop the paſſage of rimes and libels (thoſe ſecret ſtings that wound vnſeene) but that they were dayly ſpread in the Citie to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Biſhops to excommunicate the Author of all ſuch Rimes, and Libels.

The Citizens ſend to the King.

Notwithſtanding, this harſh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a time ſo vnſeaſonable, both for his owne Ends and the publike buſineſſe he vndertooke; The Commons in Parliament, deſirous to ayde their King, granted a Subſidie on this condition, that being leauied, it ſhould be committed to certaine *Earles* and *Barons* to ſee it iſſued, according to the occaſions of the Kingdome. But this Subſidie was of a new nature neither in any of thoſe kinds propounded. Euery perſon, man and woman within the Kingdome, aboue the Age of 14. yeeres, were to pay 4. pence, thoſe who liued by Almes onely excepted. The Clergie likewiſe grants 12. pence of euery Parſon Beneficed; and of all other Religious perſons 4. pence of the head, A mighty and vnknowne ayde, ſuch as neuer was granted to any King of *England* before, and became a Precedent for the next Reigne: wherein it cauſed the firſt and greateſt popular Inſurrection, that euer was ſeene in this Kingdome: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

A Subſidy granted in this Parliament.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended: but not the Dukes diſpleaſure againſt the Citie. The Maior and Aldermen are brought before the King of *Shene*, and aduiſed to ſubmit themſelues to the Duke, and craue pardon for their grieuous offences. They proteſt as before: they could not ſtay the rage of the multitude, who committed thoſe inſolencies, beſeeching the King not to puniſh ſuch as were innocent and

ignorant of the fact, promiſing the Duke, they would indeauour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make ſatisfaction, to the honour of the Duke, and more, ſaid they, we cannot doe. Whereupon they were diſmiſſed the Court, and ſhortly after from all their places, by power of the Duke of *Lancaſter*. Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in ſtead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appointed in their places, who were put out.

The King was deſirous to haue reconciled them to his Sonne, but ſickeneſſe hauing now vanquiſhed him, hee is forced to giue ouer the world, as the ſame did him, before his breath left him. And firſt his Concubine packing away what ſhee could ſnatch, euen to the rings of his fingers, left him: then his other attendants, by her example, ſeaſing on what they could faſten, ſhift away, and all his Councellors and others forſooke him in his laſt agony when moſt hee needed them, leauing his Chamber quite empty: which a poore Prieſt in the houſe ſeeing, by chance as hee paſſes, approaches to the Kings beds ſide, and finding him yet breathing, calles vpon him to remember his Sauiour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe, but euery one putting him ſtill in hope of life, though they knew death was vpon him (a miſery fatall to Princes and great perſons, whom flattery will neuer ſuffer to know themſelues, nor their owne ſtate either in health or ſickneſſe) made him neglectiue of thoſe ſpirituall cogitations fit for a dying Chriſtian. But now ſtirred vp by the voyce of this Prieſt, hee ſhewes all ſignes of contrition, and his laſt breath expreſſes the name of *Ieſu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his Mannor of *Sheene* (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of Iune, *Anno, Dom.* 1377. in the 64. yeare of his Age, hauing raygned fifty yeares, foure moneths and odde dayes.

The death of King *Edward* and the manner thereof.

His Character wee finde beſt expreſt in his actions, yet thus briefly. Hee was a Prince, the ſooneſt a man and the longeſt that held ſo, of any wee reade. Hee was of Perſonage comely, of an euen ſtature, gracefull, reſpectiuely affable, and well expreſſing himſelfe: A Prince who loued 1. *Iuſtice*, 2. *Order*, 3. and his *People*, the Supreame vertues of a Soueraigne. 1, His loue of *Iuſtice*, was ſeene by the many Statutes he made for the due execution thereof, and the moſt ſtraight-binding oath, hee ordayned to be miniſtred vnto his Iudges and Iuſticiars: the puniſhment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices, cauſing ſome to bee thruſt out, and others grieuouſly fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith*, *Anno, Reg.* 39. He bettered alſo that forme of publike Iuſtice which his grand-father firſt began (and which remaines to this day) making alſo excellent lawes for the ſame. 2. His regard to the obſeruation of *Order* amongſt his people, witnes ſo many lawes, as were made to reſtrayne them for Exceſſes in all kinds. 3. His loue to his ſubiects, was expreſt in the often eaſing of their grieuances, and his willingneſſe to giue them all faire ſatisfaction, as appeares by the continuall granting of the due obſeruation of their *Charters* in moſt of his Parliaments. And when (*Anno, Reg.* 14.) they were iealous, vpon his aſſuming the title of the Kingdome of *France*, leaſt *England* ſhould therby come to be vnder the ſubiection of that crowne, as being the greater, hee to cleare them of that doubt, paſſed a Statute, in the firmeſt manner could be deuiſed, that this Kingdome ſhould remaine intyre as before, without any violation of the rights it had.

His Iuſtice.

His loue to his people.

Prouident he was in all his actions, neuer vndertaking any thing before hee had firſt furniſhed himſelfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his ſubiects allowed him more with leſſe adoe, then euer any of his Predeceſſors had: and hee as fairely iſſued what he receiued from them, hauing none other priuate vent of profuſion, then his enterpriſes for aduancing the ſtate, and honour of the Kingdome. True it is that moſt attent and carefull he was to get monies, but yet it was without the Sackage of any man, ſuch as his grand-father made vpon the Officers of *Iuſtice*, the *Iewes* and officers.

His prouidence.

For his gifts we finde them not ſuch as either hurt his owne fame and reputation, or any way diſtaſted the ſtate. To be ſhort, he was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it: and therefore was he better obeyed, better reſpected and ſerued then any of his Predeceſſors.

His

His *Workes of Pietie* were great and many, as the founding of *East-minster*, an Abbay (of the *Cisteaux* Order) neere the Towre. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Detford*. The *Kings Hall* in *Cambridge* for poore *Schollers*. An Hospitall for the poore at *Calais*. The building of Saint *Stephans* Chappell at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound, *per annum*, to that Church. His augmenting the Chappell at *Windsor*, and prouisions there for Church-men, and 24. poore *Knights*, &c. These were his publique Workes, the best Monuments and most lasting to glorifie the memorie of Princes. Besides these, his priuate buildings are great and many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged. The Castle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais* and other places.

His workes of Piety.

His buildings

His magnificence was shewed in his Triumphes and Feasts, which were sumptuously celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preseruers of Reuerence and Maiestie. To conclude, he was a Prince, whose nature agreed with his Office; as onely made for it. Those defaillances wee finde in him at last, wee must not attribute to him but his age, wherein we neuer yet saw Prince happie. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whilest this Prince held together he was indissoluable, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

His Magnificence.

Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Ladie of excellent vertue, who though shee brought him little or none Estate, she brought him much content, some benefit by Alliance, and a faire Issue. She drew euenly with him in all the courses of *Honor* that appertained to her side, and seemes a peece so iust cut for him, as answer'd him rightly in euery ioynt. Gracious and louing shee euer shewed her-selfe to this Nation, and did many workes of Pietie, amongst which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines especially, a Monument of her Name, and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this *King* and his Grand-father *Edward* the first, the best of our Kings had the two best Wiues. Which shewes that *worthinesse* is such an *Elixar* as by contaction (if there be any disposition of goodnes in the same Metall, it will render it of the Propertie: So that these *Queenes* could be no otherwise then they were hauing so excellent Husbands.

His Wife, and his issue.

Shee bare vnto him seuen sonnes, whereof fiue liued to haue Issue; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarance*, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Yorke*, and *Thomas of Woodstocke*, which became Duke of *Glocester*. Foure daughters (of fiue she bare) liued to be marryed. *Isabel* the eldest, to *Ingelram* Lord of *Couey*, Earle of *Soissons*, and *Bedford*. *Ioan* to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, but she dyed before she lay with him. *Mary*, to *Iohn Monfort* Duke of *Brittaine*, *Margaret*, to *Iohn Hastings*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, and shee also dyed without Issue.

Thus haue we seene the end of this great *King*: who, how he came to the Crowne, we know, and now how he left it wee see: in both are considerations of importance. His stepping ouer his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, hauing so plentifull, and so able an Issue Male, he had not yet a sonne of his owne to sit on his Seate: but left the same (worse then he found it) to a Childe of eleuen yeeres of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which ouer weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: to broken and distracted inheritances abroad: himselfe hauing seene all his great gettings, purchased with so much expence, trauaile, and blood-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remaining, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To shew that our Bounds are prescribed vs, and a Pillar set by him who beares vp the Heauens, which we are not to transpasse.

The end of the Life, and Raigne of Edward *the third.*

THus farre haue I brought this Collection, of our Hiſtory, and am now come to the higheſt exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Gouernment reared vp with all thoſe maine Couplements of Forme and Order, as haue held it together euer ſince: notwithſtanding thoſe dilapidations made by our ciuill diſcord, by the Nonage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all thoſe corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the ſame. And here I leaue, vnleſſe by this which is done I finde incouragement to goe on.